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## STUDIES IN THE GROUPING OF NOUNS IN PLAUTUS

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Such familiar groups of nouns in our own language as "Liberty and Equality," "Labor and Capital," "Faith, Hope, and Charity," remind us how clearly our speech reflects political, economic, and religious conditions. Without any doubt a study of similar groups in Latin, properly interpreted, would reveal new phases of social life and thought, or confirm previous impressions derived from more obvious sources. It is noteworthy, too, that even in our own language such groups very regularly fall into pairs or triads, as in the examples quoted. From this point of view a study of word-groups contributes to our knowledge of the development of Latin style (cf. Norden *De Minucii Felicis aetate et genere dicendi*, Greifswald, 1897); in the case of Plautus it is of especial value in so far as the author supplies most of the material for our understanding of the beginnings of an artistic form of expression in Latin, and in his case it is of peculiar interest because the inherent qualities of his mother-tongue, alien features of the Greek which he was adapting, and possibly rhetorical influence, enhance the difficulty of appreciating the individual and the racial characteristics of his style; the value and interest of such a study are apparent from Leo's brief analysis of the poet's peculiarities in the handling of triads (*Analecta Plautina* III, cf. *Anal. Plaut.* II. 36-39).

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Several passages of Plautus containing, apparently, ill-assorted nouns have perplexed me in recent years; the connotation of words and the association of ideas proved, on further study, to be somewhat different in Latin from what I had supposed; prejudices occasioned by my own language were removed, and the grouping in many cases began to show at least an orderly disarray which seemed more in sympathy with other characteristics of the poet's art and personality. The following notes, therefore, are intended to throw some light on the poet's meaning and on the association of ideas in his mind; the contribution to a knowledge of his style and environment must be very incidental, limited as the study is to nouns, and to groups of more than three members.

## I

Mere catalogues of commonplace things—food, furniture, parts of the anatomy, etc.—are usually listed without attempt at grouping; but purely external features of sound often bring together items in the catalogue: *sura, pes, statura, tonsus, oculi, nasum vel labra, | malae, mentum, barba, collus: totus . . . Amph. 444*, in which, also, the relative position of the parts of the body is somewhat imperfectly suggested by the juxtaposition; *cum pedibus manibus, cum digitis auribus oculis labris Most. 1118*, in which *cum* superficially divides the groups, and *auribus oculis* perhaps attract each other through their initial syllables (cf. *voce oculis auribus Rud. 224; oculi atque aures atque opinio M. G. 589; ore atque oculis pernigris Poen. 1113*); for other lists of physical characteristics cf. *As. 400, Capt. 647, Merc. 310, 639, Ps. 1218*. Sound-effects alone group some of the items in such cases as *stimulos, lamminas, crucesque compedesque, | nervos, catenas, carceres, numellas, pedicas, boias As. 548, ampullam, strigilem, scaphium, soccos, pallium, | marsuppium Pers. 124*. Plautus makes use of all such opportunities: *cursu, luctando, hasta, disco, pugilatu, pila Bacch. 428*, but is content also with *disco, hastis, pila, cursu, armis, equo Most. 152*. When his fancy is free, his indulgence is riotous: so in the orderly arrangement of a lexicographer, *ait sese ire ad Archidemum, Chaeream, Chaerestratum, | Cliniam, Chremem, Cratinum, Diniam, Demosthenem As.*

865; or in the less flexible topographical items Megares, Eretriam, Corinthum, Chalcidem, Cretam, Cyprum, | Sicyonem, Cnidum, Zacynthum, Lesbiam, Boeotiam *Merc.* 646, in which the *en* of the triad *Sicyonem, Cnidum, Zacynthum* is not to be overlooked, and the *-iam* of the last pair is noteworthy because the poet (perhaps unconsciously) has rejected *Lesbum* in favor of *Lesbiam*, just as in the following example he has chosen *Rhodiam* in place of *Rhodum* to correspond with *Lyciam*: Persas, Paphlagonas, | Sinopas, Arabes,<sup>1</sup> Caras, Cretanos, Syros, | Rhodiam atque Lyciam, Perediam et Peribibesiam, | Centauromachiam et Classiam Unomammiam, | Libyamque oram <omnem> Conterebromniam *Curc.* 442; and here fact and fancy are mingled with remarkable results. The conspicuous feature of all such catalogues is that such groups as are formed by sound-effects are usually composed of two or three members: the pair or the triad is the almost invariable unit.

House-furnishings are not susceptible of any artistic arrangement on the printed page or in the common speech; yet the following lists are not altogether jumbled: Supellex, aurum, vestis, vasa argentea *Aul.* 343, auro, ebore, argento, purpura, picturis, spoliis, | tum statuis *Caecus*, frag. 1. Aside from an occasional grouping by sounds as *vestis vasa*, and *purpura picturis* (cf. *servi supellex, fundi aedes, omnia Men.* 1158), there is possibly a less external colligation in *auro ebore argento*: so much we may perhaps gather from Cicero—auro, argento, ebore, veste, supellectili (*De leg. agr.* 2. 38), signa, tabulas pictas, omne argentum, aurum, ebur, gemmas (*Verr.* 2. 4. 8, cf. 2. 4. 1), non aurum, non argentum, non vestem, non mancipia (*Verr.* 2. 5. 126), pondus auri, argenti, eboris, purpurae . . . . vestem, . . . . stragulam, . . . . supellectilem, . . . . vasa, . . . . (*Verr.* 2. 2. 176).

Lists of foods show similar concession to sound-effects; the most striking feature of a few such lists is a strange abandonment of logical arrangement:

venio ad macellum, rogitō piscis: indicant  
caros; agninam caram, caram bubulam,  
vitulinam, cetum, porcinam: cara omnia. (*Aul.* 373)

<sup>1</sup>We might expect the Greek accusative *Arabas* to complete the harmony of final syllables, but the MSS do not offer any variant.

- 846 iuben an non iubes astitui aulas, patinas elui,  
 847 laridum atque epulas foveri foculis ferventibus?  
 848 alium piscis praestinatam abire? † hic vigilans somniat.  
 849 † alium porcinam atque agninam et pullos gallinaceos?  
 850 † scis bene esse, si sit unde. † pernam atque opthalmiam,  
 851 horaeum, scombrum et trygonum et cetum et mollem caseum?  
 (Capt. 846)

Tu tibi istos habeas turtures, piscis, avis. (Most. 46)

On Capt. 849 Leo remarks: *mire positus inter pisces et piscium genera, sed loco moveri nequit*; and on Most. 46: *ciborum mirus ordo*. Certainly it is surprising to find *cetum* between *vitulinam* and *porcinam* in the *Aul.*, and pork and lamb and fowl in Capt. 849 between the general term for fish in 848 and the specific fish of 850, 851 (but note *epulas* 847 between *laridum* and *piscis*: cf. Lindsay *ad loc.*), and the general terms for fish and birds following the specific *turtures* in Most. 46 in such a way that the specific term is separated from *avis*. So far as Plautus' text is concerned, the three passages support one another. The peculiar arrangement in the Capt. may be due to the situation and the speaker. Moreover, in his Greek originals Plautus may have found some encouragement for this illogical grouping:

οὐ σκόροδον, οὐ σίραιον, οὐχὶ γήθρον,  
 οὐ βολβόν, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ κύμινον, οὐχ ἄλας,  
 οὐκ ῥόν, οὐ ξύλ', οὐ σκάφην, οὐ τήγανον.

—Alexis 174 K.

The position of πῦρ (and of ξύλ', if it means firewood) is no less strange than the interruption of the natural sequence in our verses.

ἑρῶντι δέ, Κτήσων, τί μᾶλλον συμφέρει  
 ὦν νῦν φέρων πάρεμι; κήρυκας, κτένας,  
 βολβούς, μέγαν τε πούλυπον ἰχθῦς θ' ἄδρους.

—Alexis 170 K.

Here the general term ἰχθῦς after the specific πούλυπον is like the order in the Most., save that there *piscis* interrupts the more natural sequence *turtures avis*.

Again, however, the order simply exposes the tyranny of sound over sense: *cetum* in the *Aulularia* supplies one more c-sound;



*piscis* happens to fit into the *p*-sequence of *Capt.* 848, and our author is content therewith, just as *caseum* rather than a fish echoes the *c*-sequence of 851 and *pernam* rather than a fish<sup>1</sup> the *p*-sequence of 849 and the end of 850; *turtures* in the *Most.* reiterates effectively the *t*-sounds of *tu tibi istos*, while *piscis avis* constitute a harmonious sound-group by themselves in which the more logical order *avis piscis* is metrically impossible. In this appreciation of sound-values lies the solution of the *mirus ordo ciborum* of our passages: that the audience smiled at such confusion of thought and harmony of sound is conceivable, but not susceptible of proof.

## II

The examples reviewed above offered the poet little opportunity for grouping by means of thought-content; they have shown his readiness to group words according to sound-values, sometimes at the expense of a logical order. Even when the inner content of words supplies a natural association and an opportunity to group according to association of ideas, the element of sound often interrupts the logical order, or sound-groups and thought-groups in turn form the smaller units in the larger compound. Occasionally, of course, thought and sound unite to form a small group. In most cases the effect is that of disorder unless one is in full sympathy with the poet's style. The large groups usually fall into pairs and triads,<sup>2</sup> though these small units vary greatly in clearness and precision; the association of thought in a given group is often very loose and general.

Simple and conventional pairs appear, some of which correspond to later usage: *urbem agrum*,<sup>3</sup> *aras focos*, *seque uti dede-*

<sup>1</sup> Leo objects to *pernam* and *opthalmiam* in 850, and says we should expect a fish in place of *pernam*. But the weakness of Plautus is such that when once "ham and heye-fish" occurs to him, he does not hunt for "halibut and heye-fish." One needs to know the songs of modern vaudeville to appreciate some sides of Plautus: the familiar refrain "ice-cream, cold-cream, vaseline, and sandwiches" is not pitched in a very much lower key than the passages above.

<sup>2</sup> Of. Norden *De Minucii Felicis aetate et genere dicendi*, pp. 62, 63.

<sup>3</sup> Henceforth the punctuation indicates my interpretation of the grouping; in some cases editors should, I think, adopt it. I should add that throughout the paper an acquaintance with Leo's *Analecta Plautina* III is presupposed; I have not stopped to defend or comment upon the triads in the larger groups because the characteristic features have been recognized by Leo.

rent *Amph.* 226 (cf. Cic. *Deiot.* 8; *Cat.* 4. 24, etc.; patriae parentibus, aris atque focus Sall. *Cat.* 52. 3); cultrum securim, pistillum mortarium *Aul.* 95 (following ignis . . . aqua and preceding vasa: cf. aquam hinc aut ignem aut vascula aut cultrum aut veru | aut aulam extarem aut aliquid *Rud.* 134); praecantrici coniectrici, hariolae atque haruspicae *M. G.* 693 (cf. hariolos haruspices *Poen.* 791); usus fructus, victus cultus *Merc.* 832 (cf. lexica, s. vv. *usufructus* and *cultus*).

Larger groups better illustrate Plautus' individual characteristics: sed pudicitiam et pudorem et sedatum cupidinem, | deum metum, parentum amorem et cognatum concordiam *Amph.* 840; the passage is artificial as the difficult construction ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in the next verse (842) indicates; whether the poet felt any distinction between *pudicitia* and *pudor* or no, whether or no he contrasted these two with the third member of the same group, it is at least clear that the first triad is much less precise than the triad of the second verse with its *deum* . . . *parentum* . . . *cognatum* and the appropriate emotions *metum* . . . *amorem* . . . *concordiam*. So in ubi quemque hominem aspexero, | si ancillam seu servom, sive uxorem sive adulterum, | seu patrem sive avom videbo *Amph.* 1048, the general term is defined in three pairs, the first two of which are possibly suggested by the characters in the play, but the last abandoning the plot loses the contrast of gender in the members of the first two pairs. The balance is disturbed somewhat differently in modo hic habitat leno, modo adulescens modo senex, | pauper mendicus, rex parasitus, hariolus *Men.* 75, with isolated units at the extremes of the large group, pairs of contrasted members intervening—*adulescens senex*, *rex parasitus* (cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 338 ff.), but these interrupted by a pair of like members—*pauper mendicus*. The three classes of the Roman people, *ingenui libertini servi*, are exhausted (Leo *Anal. Plaut.* II. 39; Kemmer *Die polare Ausdrucksweise* 90, 116) in equitem peditem, libertinum, furem an fugitivom velis, | verberatum, vinctum, addictum *Poen.* 832; with the first pair cf. Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum Horace *A. p.* 113, and with the alliterative pair *furem* . . . *fugitivom* cf. *Ps.* 365, *Trin.* 1024, 1027, and with *furem* = *servom* cf. quid domini faciunt,

audent cum talia fures? Verg. *Eclog.* 3. 16; et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus Horace *Epist.* 1. 6. 46.

Abstract nouns which from our English point of view appear to have little association with one another will sometimes, on further study, reveal an interrelation in the Latin that conduces to at least a loose grouping. Verse-division, alliteration, and the co-ordinating conjunction suggest a grouping in rem fidem honorem, | gloriam et gratiam *Trin.* 272; and similarly, perhaps (though it is difficult to say whether *fama* belongs with *res fides* on account of the alliteration, or with *virtus decus*), in res fides fama, virtus decus | deseruerunt *Most.* 144. Some such grouping is certainly indicated by the usage of Plautus and later prose: res et fides *Truc.* 45, rem fidemque *Truc.* 58, res aut honos Cic. *Quinct.* 9, et rem et famam 62, sive fides . . . sive honos *De leg. agr.* 2. 23. The other pairs in the following couplet suggest that *virtutes* . . . honores belong together: sibi sua habeant regna reges, sibi divitias divites, | sibi honores sibi virtutes, sibi pugnas sibi proelia *Curc.* 178. Less symmetrical but quite as characteristic of the author is the grouping of libertas salus vita, res et parentes, patria et prognati *Amph.* 650; these groups are not sharply distinguished; in thought *parentes* and *prognati* belong together, but the sound-effects influence the grouping in the last two pairs; the association of ideas for the Roman, especially in the triad, comes out in Cicero's grouping: salus patria fortunae *Planc.* 79; salutem et vitam *Sest.* 128, *Planc.* 1, *Deiot.* 30, *Verr.* 2. 3. 164; iura libertatem salutem *Cluent.* 155; de periculo salutis ac libertatis *De leg. agr.* 1. 21. The same general thought is expressed elsewhere in smaller compass and different grouping; (erum meretrix) privabit bonis luce, honore atque amicis *Truc.* 574. *Lux* in the *Truc.* and *vita* in the *Amph.* obviously correspond; this correspondence and the examples from Cicero perhaps assure us of the association in ego nunc tibi sum summus Iuppiter, | idem ego sum Salus Fortuna Lux, Laetitia Gaudium *Capt.* 863; the division between the triad and the pair is blurred by the alliterative unity of Lux Laetitia, but such lack of distinctness in grouping is not infrequent in our examples.

It is not my intention to ascribe to Plautus a conscious precision in these groupings; it suits my purpose rather to admit a

considerable amount of vagueness, a blurring of the division between groups, a constant rivalry between sound and sense. This, rather than the monotonous precision of Minucius Felix, is what we should expect in the early stages of conscious artistic expression. One cannot be positive that the grouping in the following couplet is that indicated by my punctuation: Amor, Voluptas Venus Venustas, Gaudium, | Iocus Ludus, Sermo Suavisaviatio *Bacch.* 115; in elegiac poetry *Venus* and *Voluptas* occasionally appear in more or less close relation, but there is nothing to prevent a grouping by pairs in the first four words (the caesural pause, indeed, favors it) except the alliterative unity of the three that I have marked as a distinct group; so far as the thought is concerned Gaudium | Iocus Ludus might form a triad (cf. Laetitia Ludum Iocum *Merc.* 846), though the verse-division may form a partial barrier to such a grouping; the association of *iocus ludus* is certain—cf. *Capt.* 770 (ludum iocum), *Merc.* 846 (ludum iocum), *Ps.* 65 (a repetition of our verse), Cic. *Cael.* 46 (ludus iocus), *Verr.* 2. 1. 155 (per ludum et iocum), and Terence *Eun.* 300 (ludum iocumque); the association in the *sermo amatorius* comes out clearly in Ovid: mille facesse *iocos*. turpest nescire puellam | *ludere*: *ludendo* saepe paratur amor *Ars amat.* 3. 367; hos ignava *iocos* tribuit natura puellis; | materia *ludunt* uberiores viri *Ars amat.* 3. 381. The significant thing in the *Bacch.* is the combination of sound-groups and sense-groups. Similarly in these verses: Neptunum, Virtutem Victoriam, | Martem Bellonam *Amph.* 42, in which *Mars* and *Bellona* are associated in thought (cf. nam neque *Bellona* mi unquam neque *Mars* creduat *Bacch.* 847), but *Virtus Victoria* form an alliterative pair as well as a loose unit of thought. A longer list of divinities falls into groups in which the unity is now external, now internal: ita me Iuppiter Iuno, Ceres, | Minerva, Lato (MSS *Latona*), Spes Opis, Virtus Venus, | Castor Polluces, Mars Mercurius, Hercules, | Summanus Sol Saturnus, dique omnes ament *Bacch.* 892; a more symmetrical grouping is possible if *Ceres Minerva Lato*, and *Mars Mercurius Hercules* may form trinities of female and male divinities, but in cult I find no evidence for these trinities, and Plautus has no parallel; the other groups are for the most part obvious; for *Spes Opis* cf. Sjögren *De particulis*

*copulativis ap. Pl. et Ter.* 25. The character of the speaker and the situation excuse this elaborate grouping: *laudem lucrum, ludum iocum, festivitatem ferias, | pompam penum potationes, saturitatem, gaudium Capt.* 770; *laudem lucrum* is not only an alliterative group but a pair of contrasted ideas (*intelleges quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit Cic. Phil.* 2. 115); nor is *pompam* (the procession of slaves bringing provisions—*Bacch.* 114, *Cas.* 719, *St.* 683, *Truc.* 549) associated with the other members of the triad merely by sound; in general, sound and sense unite to form the association in each group in rather unusual fashion.

Editors may perhaps question whether it is advisable to indicate by the punctuation, as I have done, the grouping of nouns. In only one case, so far as I have noticed, in these larger groups does so sympathetic an editor as Leo choose this visible means of interpretation: *vim metum, cruciatum curam, iurgiumque atque inopiam Merc.* 162. In his critical note Leo refers to *Merc.* 247 (*cura cruciabar*), and for *vim metum* to Laberius 102 (*nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas*), *Cic. Caec.* 43 ff. (*vis produces terror animi*), *De officiis* 2. 22. For *iurgium . . . inopiam* he might have added the juxtaposition (hardly a grouping) of *iniuria, | inopia, contumelia (et dispendium)* in *Merc.* 29 (the genuineness of which, however, Leo denies). The difficulty of using punctuation to indicate such grouping will appear from *cura miseria aegritudo, lacrumae lamentatio Merc.* 870; here the alliterative pair stands apart from the rest, and *cura miseria aegritudo* are partly paralleled by *cura aegritudo nimiaque elegantia Merc.* 19, but in spite of the possibility of such smaller groups the interrelation of the five nouns is so close as to make the distinction of a triad and a pair somewhat misleading.

### III

Such variety and elasticity and lack of precision in grouping as we have thus far observed should prevent us from viewing with suspicion collocations which appear unsymmetrical. It is our first duty to assure ourselves that we understand the connotation of the words from the Roman point of view; this understanding

occasionally brings partial order out of chaos. Even if this fails, we are not too hastily to question the genuineness of the text.

A perfect balance accentuated by the verse-division is obvious in *qui aut Nocti aut Dii | aut Soli aut Lunae miseras narrant suas Merc. 4* (cf. *si tu illum solem sibi solem esse diceret, | se illum lunam credere esse et noctem qui nunc est dies Bacch. 699*). But when we read such a different grouping as *diem, aquam, solem lunam, noctem, haec argento non emo As. 198* (in which *solem lunam* again attract each other, *diem . . . noctem* bracket the group, *aqua* interrupts the symmetry), Leo's critical note seems unsympathetic: "nescio an dies et nox ad *solem lunam* interpretamenta sint, cum in versum recipereur male collocata (aliter *Bacch. 255, 699 f.*)."<sup>1</sup> Certainly *Bacch. 255*, to which Leo refers, rather confirms our notion that Plautus is not to be held to any rigid precision in grouping, instead of justifying a suspicion that *As. 198* is not altogether the work of Plautus; *Bacch. 255* reads: *Volcanus, Luna Sol, Dies, di quattuor, | scelestiorem nullum inluxere alterum. Luna Sol* (MSS *Sol Luna*) again form a pair, *Volcanus* and *Dies* are rather loosely prefixed and appended, *Dies* is perhaps attracted to *di* for sound-effect.<sup>1</sup>

With even less approval do I regard the objections of Ribbeck (*Emendat. Merc. Pl. Spicilegium 13*) to a part of another long

<sup>1</sup> *Volcanus* is certainly not easy to account for. The editors are reminded of Caesar's trinity of German gods, *Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam* (*B. G. 6. 21*), but this hardly explains the arrangement in Plautus. Nor may one derive much satisfaction from Servius (*Aen. 3. 35*): *nonnulli eundem Solem et Vulcanum dicunt*: cf. Hesychius, s. v. Ἡφαίστος· παρά τισι δὲ ὁ ἥλιος; both of which statements may reflect Orphic identification (cf. *Festschrift für Gomperz 8*). The very late and peculiar account of an alliance between *Sol* and *Vulcanus* in Paulinus Nola c. 32. 135 ff. (cf. Wissowa *Religion der Römer* 187, n. 2) is hardly available. I think we may perhaps explain the appearance of *Volcanus* in Plautus as in some measure due to his Greek source; elsewhere in Plautus (*Epid. 673, Men. 330, Aul. 359, Amph. 341, Rud. 761*) *Volcanus* = *ignis*; it may be that the poet was adapting to his Roman audience some such philosophy as is illustrated by Menander 537 K.: ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος τοὺς θεοὺς λέγει | ἀνέμους, ἔδωρ, γῆν, ἥλιον, πῦρ, ἀστέρας (cf. Menander 481 K.: τοῦτον εὐτυχέστατον λέγω | ὅστις θεωρήσας ἀλύπως, Παρμένων, | τὰ σεμνὰ ταῦτ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὅθεν ἦλθεν, ταχύ, | τὸν ἥλιον τὸν κοῖνόν, ἀστρ', ἔδωρ, νέφη, | πῦρ). The appearance of *aqua* in *As. 198* may also be due to some such passage as these two of Menander, although the idea in the *As.* is more in sympathy with the second fragment than the first; cf. *A.P. 10. 123. 3-4*: ἡδὲ μὲν γὰρ σοι τὰ φύσει καλὰ, γαῖα, θάλασσα, | ἀστρα, σεληναίης κύκλα καὶ ἡλίου.



list of nouns; the lover describes the zeal with which he will overcome difficulties in searching for his *amica*:

neque mihi ulla obsidet amnis nec mons neque adeo mare,  
nec calor nec frigus metuo neque ventum neque grandinem;  
imbrem perpetiar, laborem sufferam, solem, sitim. (*Merc.* 859)

Ribbeck exclaims: "quid ibi, quaeso, imbris et solis commemoratio post enumeratas in v. 860 tempestates sibi volunt? et quam perverse inter caeli iniurias vaga laboris notio infertur!" Although Leo seems to sympathize with Ribbeck to some extent in the branding of the last verse, his reference to Tibullus i. 2. 29 ff. certainly answers Ribbeck's second objection: non mihi pigra nocent hibernae frigora noctis, | non mihi cum multa decidit imber aqua. | non labor hic laedit, . . . . There can be no doubt that, in the *sermo amatorius*, *labor* was easily associated with the disagreeable effects of the weather. But the noteworthy feature of the verse is the distinctly Plautine arrangement of the nouns: the nouns naturally associated in meaning are *labor* and *sitis* (cf. *servitus sudor sitis Merc.* 674), *imber* and *sol*; but the members of these two pairs are separated one from the other that the verse may end with the sibilant *sufferam solem sitim*, begin with a succession of *mbr*-sounds, and produce other sound-effects which are more easily appreciated than described.

#### IV

The *Mercator*, from the Greek of Philemon, contains a remarkable number of groups of adjectives and verbs as well as of nouns (4, 19 ff., 25 ff., 162, 310, 630, 640, 646, 674, 833, 846 ff., 852 ff., 859 ff., 870). Perhaps the Greek author was prone to forming extensive groups of words of the same category (cf. Leo *Anal. Plaut.* III. 8). Most of these groups have already been discussed. Two are of such extent and difficulty as to require special treatment.

The longest of the groups has aroused suspicion. Leo, after Dziatzko, brackets the greater part of it; Ribbeck rejects the whole of it (*Spicilegium* 8 ff.); forming as it does part of the prologue, it has suffered from the general prejudice against that portion of the play. It is not my purpose primarily to defend the



authenticity of the whole or any part of it, but to consider it without prejudice as it stands. The lover, Charinus, interrupts his account of his love affair with a digression (which, he says, is characteristic of lovers); this digression consists of a list of the *vitia* to which a lover is subject; I print the text of Leo (*Merc.* 18 ff.):

- nam amorem haec cuncta vitia sectari solent,  
cura aegritudo nimiaque elegantia,  
20 [haec non modo illum qui amat, sed quemque attigit  
magno atque solido multat infortunio,  
nec pol profecto quisquam sine grandi malo  
praequam res patitur studuit elegantiae.  
sed amori accedunt etiam haec quae dixi minus:  
25 insomnia, aerumna, error, terror et fuga,  
ineptia stultitiaque adeo et temeritas,  
incogitantia excors, immodestia,  
petulantia et cupiditas, malevolentia,  
inertia (MSS ineret etiam), aviditas, desidia, iniuria,  
30 inopia, contumelia et dispendium,]  
multiloquium:  
. . . . .  
37 nunc vos mi irasci ob multiloquium non decet.

Leo's comment is contained in his critical note introducing the prologue: . . . tantum amplificatio versuum 18. 19, quae legitur vv. 20-30, aut retractata aut post Plautum scripta est, quippe quae vitiorum ordinem nullum praebat sed fortuitam et qualem versus patiebantur farraginem (cf. Dziatzko *Rhein. Mus.* XXVI. 437); scilicet componenda sunt cupiditas et aviditas, malevolentia iniuria contumelia, inopia dispendium, haec ad elegantiam, insomnia aerumna ad curam aegritudinem (19) pertinent: haec in initio, dispendium in fine catalogi.

This criticism involves certain presuppositions which all of us are not prepared to grant: e. g., that Plautus may not repeat and amplify his own words (cf. Kellerman *De Plauto sui imitatore*, Leipzig, 1903), that a *fortuita farrago* (if properly defined) is not characteristic of his style. Without begging these important questions let us consider the connotation of the words in the passage; let us discover, if it be possible, whether this connotation

affords any justification for the arrangement: from the results of our previous study we shall infer only that sound and sense will be important factors.

*Cura aegritudo nimiaque elegantia* (19) constitute a loose triad, the genuineness of which Leo does not question: the third member of the triad is not so closely associated with the first two as they are with each other, but this is characteristic (cf. *Anal. Plaut.* III. 12-16). A closer triad is found in *cura miseria aegritudo* . . . . *Merc.* 870. *Cura* is a commonplace of the *sermo amatorius*; for *aegritudo* cf. *Amor amara dat tamen, satis quod aegre sit Trin.* 260, and for *cura* and *aegritudo* cf. *fuisset tum illos mi aegre aliquod dies, | at non cottidiana cura haec angeret animum Terence Phorm.* 159; for *elegantia*<sup>1</sup> cf. (a description of *Amor*) *blandiloquentulus, harpago, mendax, cuppes, avarus, elegans, despoliator Trin.* 239.

There follows (20-23) a parenthetical digression enlarging upon the disastrous effects of *elegantia*: not only is the lover ruined, *sed quemque attigit (elegantia amatoris)*. Awkward as the parenthesis is, it is perhaps worth noting that the transition from the triad to the digression is somewhat like the sequence of thought in the same lyrical passage of the *Trinummus* to which we have referred already and which serves to parallel so many parts of our passage (the *Trinummus*, also, is from the Greek of Philemon); in the *Trinummus* the lover's extravagance has been described at length (242-54); this extravagance makes him an *inops amator* (255); the conclusion is that although it is *dulce* to lead this life of expensive dissipation, *Love amara dat tamen, satis quod aegre sit* (cf. *aegritudo*); then the far-reaching effects of this *elegantia* and *aegritudo* are perhaps suggested in 261-64: the lover fugit forum, fugitat suos cognatos, fugat ipsus se ab suo contutu | neque eum sibi amicum volunt dici.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The transition from fastidiousness to extravagance is easy in experience and semasiology: cf. in a very different context: *Crassus erat elegantium parcissimus, Scavevola parcorum elegantissimus Cic. Brut.* 148, where the contrast between *elegans* and *parcus* suggests the meaning of the lover's *elegantia*. Cf. *Gellius*, II. 2. 1; *Nonius* 465. 11.

<sup>2</sup>The idea is that briefly expressed in *Truc.* 574: (*erum meretrix*) *privabit bonis luce, honore atque amicis*.

In 24 the speaker resumes the *vitia*. *Insomnia* and *aerumna* are drawn to each other by the *-mn-* common to both of them. For the lover's *aerumna* cf. *qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris vias | superavit aerumnis is suis aerumnas Herculi Pers. 1; edepol qui amat, si eget, adficetur misera aerumna Curc. 142*. The transition from *aerumna* to the group *error, terror et fuga* is a natural one for the Roman: cf. *furor atque aerumna gravescit (amantis) Lucr. 4. 1069*; and in philosophical parlance: *ex quibus humanae vitae erroribus et aerumnis fit ut. . . . Cic. Frag. deperd. libr. phil. v. 88 Baiter-Kayser*; Plautus himself associates the ideas: *multiplex aerumna me exercitam habet, | paupertas, pavor territat mentem animi Epid. 529*. *Error, terror et fuga* are associated in sound (cf. *algor error pavor Rud. 215*) and in thought. The association in thought between *error* and *terror* seems to reflect psychological theory: cf. *quod errorem animis perturbationemque adferat Cic. De div. i. 62; ergo ut constantia scientiae, sic perturbatio erroris est Cic. Tusc. disp. 4. 80*. Indeed the general association of ideas in this verse and in the following verses is clearer to me after reading a passage of Cicero (obviously of Greek origin: was the Greek of Philemon's play influenced by a similar theory?):

huius igitur virtutis contraria est vitiositas—sic enim malo . . . . appellare eam quam Graeci *κακία* appellant; . . . . ex qua concitantur *perturbationes*, quae sunt. . . . *turbidi animorum concitatieque motus, aversi a ratione et inimicissimi mentis vitaeque tranquillae*. inportant enim *aegritudines* anxias atque acerbis animosque adfigunt et debilitant metu; idem inflammant *adpetitione nimia*, quam tum *cupiditatem* tum libidinem dicimus, inpotentiam quandam animi *a temperantia et moderatione plurimum dissidentem*. quae si quando adepta erit id quod ei fuerit concupitum, tum eferetur alacritate, “ut nihil ei constet” quod agat, ut ille qui “voluptatem animi nimiam summum esse errorem” arbitratur. eorum igitur malorum in una virtute posita sanatio est. quid autem est non miserius solum, sed foedius et deformius quam *aegritudine* quis adfectus, debilitatus, iacens? cui miseriae proximum est is qui adpropinquans aliquod malum metuit exanimatusque pendet animi. quam vim mali significantes poetae inpendere apud inferos saxum Tantalo faciunt . . . . ea communis poena *stultitiae* est; omnibus enim quorum mens abhorret a ratione, semper aliqui talis *terror* inpendet. atque ut haec tabificae mentis *perturbationes* sunt, *aegritudinem* dico et *metum*, sic hilariores illae, *cupiditas* *avide* semper *aliquid expetens* et

inanis alacritas, id est laetitia gestiens, non multum differunt ab *amentia*. ex quo intellegitur qualis ille sit quem tum *moderatum*, alias *modestum*, tum *temperantem*, alias constantem continentemque dicimus; non nunquam haec eadem vocabula ad frugalitatis nomen tamquam ad caput referre volumus. quod nisi eo nomine virtutes continerentur, nunquam ita pervolgatum illud esset ut iam proverbii locum obtineret, hominem frugi omnia recte facere. quod idem cum Stoici de sapiente dicunt, nimis admirabiliter nimisque magnifice dicere videntur. (*Tusc. disp.* 4. 34-36.)

These words and ideas also have their place in the *sermo amatorius*. For the idea in *error* cf. Pichon *De sermone amatorio*, s. v. *errare*, especially Blanditiae comites tibi erunt Errorque Furorque Ovid *Amor.* i. 2. 35. This mad impetuosity of love causes the lover's apprehension; *terror* is not the technical word for this, but is here chosen in place of the usual *timor* or *metus* for the assonance with *error*; this apprehension in the *sermo amatorius* is usually a fear "imprimis ne fallantur aut decipiantur" (Pichon *De sermone amatorio*, s. vv. *timere*, *metuere*): cf. fit quoque longus amor, quem diffidentia nutrit: | hunc tu si quaeres ponere, pone *metum*. | qui *timet* ut sua sit, nequis sibi detrahat illam, | ille Machaonia vix ope sanus erit Ovid *Remed. amor.* 543; (Propertius fears that Cynthia is proving faithless at Baiae) non quia perspecta non es mihi cognita fama, | sed quod in hac omnis parte *timetur* amor, and he adds that if the letter causes her sorrow, culpa *timoris* erit Prop. i. 11. 17; *timidus* sum (ignosce *timori*) | et miser in tunica suspicor esse virum Prop. ii. 6. 13; (Propertius fears that Lynceus has stolen the affections of Cynthia) ipse meas solus, quod nil est, aemulor umbras, | stultus, quod stulto saepe *timore* tremo Prop. ii. 34. 19. There are, to be sure, other occasions for the lover's fear; but generally it is the discovery that this sort of fear is justified, that the object of one's love is unattainable, which leads to the *fuga*<sup>1</sup> here combined with

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation differs from that of Leo, who refers to *Trin.* 259 ff. But as I understand the *Trinummus*, the *fuga* there is not the conventional *fuga*, but the result of loss of self-respect; as Plautus expresses it in *Truc.* 574: (erum meretrix) privabit bonis luce, honore atque amicis. It seems to me more likely that *terror* in our passage requires the sort of *fuga* conventional in the *sermo amatorius*, especially as this often results from the lover's discovery that his *metus* or *timor* is justified. And I regard it as certain that the author of our verses, whether Plautus or not, would have in mind the action of the play, in which *terror* and *fuga*, as I show above, are perfectly illustrated.

*terror*. This association of *terror* and *fuga* in this sense cannot be better illustrated than by Charinus' own experience as set forth in the action of the *Mercator* 588 ff. At the beginning of this scene, before and after the entrance of Eutyclus with the news that the girl has become the property of another, the *terror* of Charinus is vividly portrayed. No sooner is he acquainted with the facts than he gives way to utter dejection which issues in the determination to leave the country: non possum durare, certumst exsulatum hinc ire me (644). Eutyclus' arguments against this decision are also worth quoting, not only because they set forth the conventional aspects of this *fuga* (Love is not to be eluded: cf. Pichon *op. cit.*, s. v. *fugere*; Hoelzer *De poesi amatoria a comicis Atticis exculpta*, etc. 13 ff.), but also because the passage illustrates certain connotations of *inopia* and *cupiditas* that may serve us later in interpreting vss. 30, 28 of our prologue:

quid tu ais? quid quom illuc quo nunc ire paritas veneris,  
 si ibi amare forte occipias atque item eius sit *inopia*,  
 iam inde porro aufugies, deinde item illinc, si item evenierit?  
 quis modus tibi *exsilio* tandem eveniet, quis finis *fugae*?  
 quae patria aut domus tibi stabilis esse poterit? dic mihi.  
 cedo, si hac urbe abis, amorem te hic relictum putas?  
 si id fore ita sat animo acceptum est, certum id, pro certo si habes,  
 quanto te satiust rus aliquo abire, ibi esse, ibi vivere,  
 adeo dum illius te *cupiditas* atque amor missum facit. (649-57)

*Error, terror et fuga*, therefore, in Charinus' own experience represent an unbroken sequence; for that *error* forms a part of his experience is stated at least once: miser amicam mihi paravi, animi causa, pretio eripui, | ratus clam patrem me meum posse habere; is rescivit et vidit et perdidit me; | neque is quom roget quid loquar cogitatumst, | ita animi decem in pectore incerti certant | . . . tantus *cum cura* meost *error* animo 341-47. It is true that here the *error* is mere uncertainty of purpose, but such mental perturbation variously manifested is the *error* referred to in the *sermo amatorius* and in the psychological theory.

The transition from this group to the triad of *vitia* in 26 is also perfectly smooth. The passage quoted from the *Tusculan Disputations* states that the *perturbationes* are *aversi a ratione*,

and Cicero elsewhere associates the ideas of 25 and 26: e.g., *error et temeritas* populorum (rem) a multitudine ad paucos transtulit *Repub.* i. 52; *errorem* autem et *temeritatem* . . . . *Acad.* i. 42; *errore*, levitate, *temeritate* *Acad.* ii. 66. The triad itself is formed in Plautus' characteristic fashion; the first two members are almost synonymous, the third describes a more intense manifestation of the same qualities (cf. Leo *Anal. Plaut.* III. 15: . . . . tertium quod additur vim sermoni non per numerum tantum addit, eo quod . . . . in gradum altiore educit). In the *sermo amatorius* the lover's folly is a commonplace and needs no illustration; his rashness is less conventional, but cf. Pichon *op. cit.* s. v. *temerarius*.<sup>1</sup>

The irrational condition produced by love is described in still stronger terms in the pair of vs. 27, *incogitantia excors*, *immodestia*. So Cicero in the *Tusc. disp.* above, after describing the effects of the *perturbationes*, concludes: *ex quo intellegitur qualis ille sit quem tum moderatum, alias modestum, tum temperantem, alias constantem continentemque dicimus*. The pair is linked together by the common initial syllable. The adjective *excors* makes the group unsymmetrical, but no more so than *nimia* in the triad of 19, and the co-sounds in *incogitantia excors* bind the two together; cf. *excordem caecum incogitabilem* *M. G.* 544.

Just before his reference to the *homo modestus*, Cicero discriminates between two kinds of *perturbationes*: *tabificae*, including *aegritudo* and *metus*; *hilariores*, including *cupiditas avida semper aliquid expetens et inanis alacritas*. The lover's *cupiditas* is for the object of his love: so Eutychus in 656 asks Charinus why he does not rusticate adeo dum illius te *cupiditas* atque amor missum facit. Amor himself is *harpago* . . . . *cuppes*, *avarus* . . . . *Trin.* 239. In vs. 28 of our passage this *cupiditas* is grouped with *petulantia*. We expect some association

<sup>1</sup> In Greek philosophy the equivalent of *temeritas* is *προπέτεια*; in this connection it is interesting to note Kaibel's skilful interpretation of *προπέτεια*, with the help of philosophical theory, in Callimachus' amatory epigram 42 (W.); cf. *Hermes* XXXI (1896), 266-68:

εἰ μὲν ἐκὼν Ἀρχὴν ἐπεκώμασα, μὴρτα μέμφου,  
εἰ δ' ἄκων ἦκω, τὴν προπέτειαν ἔα.  
"Ἀκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ' ἠνάγκασαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν  
εἴλεεν, ὁ δ' οὐκ εἰς τὴν προπέτειαν ἔδαν.

between them. This is supplied at once by Cicero's cupiditas avidae semper aliquid *expetens*, if we remember the same author's *a petendo petulantia* (*Repub.* 4. 6). The word is very generally combined with *obscenitas*, *libido* in Cicero: cf. Merguet's *lexica s. v.*; e. g., *semper audax, petulans*, *libidinosus* Sull. 71. And in one case we get in Cicero the same grouping as in Plautus: *ea res nunc enim in discrimine versatur, utrum possitne se contra luxuriam ac licentiam rusticana illa atque inculta parsimonia defendere, an deformata atque ornamentis omnibus spoliata, nuda cupiditati petulantiaeque addicatur* *Quinct.* 92. For the use of the idea in the *sermo amatorius* cf. Pichon, *op. cit.*, s. v. *petere*.<sup>1</sup>

In the same verse with this pair of words stands a third, *malevolentia*. Leo asserts that this is out of place, that its association is properly with *iniuria* (29) and *contumelia* (30). I am convinced that a full understanding of the meaning of the word will justify its position, that it has no connection in thought with *iniuria* and *contumelia* but a connotation that makes *cupiditas* and *petulantia* congenial company. The idea best suited to the grouping here is suggested in *Capt.* 583: *est miserorum ut malevolentes sint atque inuideant bonis*; cf. *malevolentia et invidia* Sall. *Cat.* 3. 2. *Malevolentia* is not a technical word in the *sermo amatorius*; *invidia* is the regular term, and usually of the lover's envy of a real or imaginary rival (Pichon *op. cit.*, s. v. *invidere*). The association between the lover's craving for the delights of love, and his envy of the rival who seems to be enjoying them, makes *petulantia et cupiditas* and *malevolentia* altogether congenial neighbors.

Up to this point the juxtaposition of the nouns and their grouping seems above criticism. Thought-units or sound-units have been formed in a fashion quite in harmony with the practice of our author. The transition from group to group has been easy and natural. No such contention can be established for vss. 29, 30. If any verses are to be excised because of illogical arrangement,

<sup>1</sup> Is not *petulantia* in *Cist.* 672 to be directly connected with *peto*? *Halicar* has lost something valuable; the insistent need of seeking it (cf. 678-87) makes her wretched. I cannot understand Ussing's interpretation (note on vs. 506): *petulantia* = *neglegentia*. The lover's *petulantia linguae* is best brought out in *Propertius* i. 16. 37; cf. *Suet. Tib.* 61.



these might well furnish some ground for such action. But it is at least an open question whether Plautus is to be held to such strict account, and in any case the juxtaposition in these verses is not necessarily so bad as Leo states.

Vs. 29 begins with a corrupt reading in the MSS. *Ineret etiam* is usually read as *inerit etiam* (Lindsay notes that the MSS reading may represent *inhaeret*). Leo rather plausibly emends to *inertia* (*Archiv für lat. Lex.* IX. 164), which preserves the list of nouns from interruption, but adds to the disorder; for *inertia* belongs with *desidia*. *Aviditas* certainly is a repetition or intensification of *cupiditas*. *Desidia* is regularly used of the inactivity that seems in the *sermo amatorius* to be almost synonymous with love; so in *Merc.* 62: non, ut ego, *amori* neque *desidia* in otio | operam dedisse . . . (cf. the last stanza of Catullus 51 on *otium*, and Eur. frag. 324 N. "Ἔρως γὰρ ἀργὸν κατὰ τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφν; Stobaeus *Flor.* 64. 29 Θεόφραστος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶν ἔρως, πάθος ἔφη ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης; Ovid *Remed. amor.* 135-44; Plautus *Truc.* 136-42); it is noteworthy that *desidia* is sharply contrasted with *virtus*: cape sis *virtutem* animo et corde expelle *desidiam* tuo *Trin.* 650, cum *virtute* non cum *desidia* Cic. *Sest.* 138, invidiam placare paras *virtute* relicta? | contemnere, miser. vitanda est inproba Siren | *desidia*, . . . Horace *Sat.* 2. 3. 13. This connection between inactivity and active wrong-doing might, with some straining, excuse the juxtaposition of *desidia* and *iniuria*. But *iniuria* is not so often used of actual violence in the *sermo amatorius* as of the faithlessness of the beloved (Pichon *op. cit.*, s. v., and Rothstein's note on Prop. i. 18. 23). It is quite clear to me, however, that Leo's assertion that malevolentia iniuria contumelia, inopia dispendium, should properly be grouped together does not do justice to the juxtaposition in the text. *Malevolentia* I have already explained. The connection between iniuria, | inopia, contumelia is apparent from a verse later in this play: Acanthio brings Charinus the news that the girl has been seen by his father; Charinus in trying to get this information says: quid fers? dic mihi. Acanthio answers: vim metum, cruciatum curam, iurgium-que atque inopiam *Merc.* 161, 162 (cf. above p. 9). The association of *iurgium* and *inopia* may well justify the arrangement

before us in the prologue: *inopia* is not necessarily the poverty of the *inops* or *pauper amator*, but the condition of being without the object of one's love whether through lack of money or any other cause; this appears also from this same play 650, 651: Eutychus tries to persuade Charinus not to go into exile on account of his losing his sweetheart; *quid tu ais? quid quom illuc quo nunc ire paritas veneris, | si ibi amare forte occipias atque item eius sit inopia, iam inde porro aufugies, . . . ?* This sort of *inopia* is not limited to our play; cf. (of Amor) *is mores hominum moros et morosos efcit: | minus placet magis quod suadetur, quod dissuadetur placet; | quom inopiast, cupias, quando eius copias, tum non velis Trin.* 669; and Phaedria, a lover as yet not in possession of his beloved to Antipho already married: *tu conicito cetera, | quid ego ex hac inopia nunc capiam et quid tu ex istac copia Terence Phorm.* 166. That violent words and acts attend the lover's *inopia* is natural enough, as the grouping *iurgiumque atque inopiam* in *Merc.* 162 attests. It is of course true that such *inopia*, since the woman is regularly a *meretrix*, is usually a result of *inopia argenti*, but our present purpose is simply to defend the juxtaposition of *iniuria, | inopia, contumelia*. It must be granted that the regular grouping in Latin associates *iniuria contumelia*,<sup>1</sup> and that *inopia* even with the meaning which it consistently bears in the *Mercator* might properly be combined with *dispendium*, but some allowance must be made for the attraction which *iniuria | inopia* have for each other (even though they stand in different verses<sup>2</sup>) because of the common syllable *in-*. A comparison with *Merc.* 859 (above p. 11) and other examples in our discussion should have made us familiar with the concessions that our author is ever ready to make for sound-effects.

After this solemn exposition of the *vitia*, it is certainly time for the speaker's humor to assert itself as it does by introducing as a

<sup>1</sup> *Patior facile iniuriam, si est vacua a contumelia Pacuv.* 279, 280, on which Nonius remarks (430. 15): . . . *iniuria enim levior res est.* And see the lexica, s. vv. *contumelia, iniuria*.

<sup>2</sup> The effect of verse-division in such grouping remains to be determined: for the present we may note *Gaudium | Iocus Ludus Bacch.* 115, and the association in meaning in *inopiam | solitudinem Merc.* 848 (cf. *huius inopia et solitudo commemoratur Cic. Rosc. Amer.* 20, *Quinct.* 5), although the genuineness of the latter verse of Plautus remains to be discussed in the next section.

*maximum vitium* in vs. 31 *multiloquium*; this is elaborated in mock-serious fashion with the conclusion (37): *nunc vos mi irasci ob multiloquium non decet*. It is difficult to see what becomes of the humor involved in this inclusion of *multiloquium* among the *vitia*, if the verses 20-30 which exemplify this *vitium* are expunged.

## V

An extremely artificial grouping of nouns is ascribed to Plautus in Leo's interpretation of another passage in the *Mercator*, and a verse containing four nouns appended, without grouping, to the preceding group is expunged:

ecquisnam deus est qui mea nunc laetus laetitia fuat?

- 845 domi erat quod quaeritabam: sex sodales repperi,  
vitam, amicitiam, civitatem, laetitiam, ludum, iocum;  
eorum inventu res simitu pessumas pessum dedi,  
iram, inimicitiam, maerorem, lacrumas, exsilium, inopiam,  
[solitudinem, stultitiam, exitium, pertinaciam]. (844-49)

Leo's note reads as follows (on 848):

Respondet ira ioco, maeror ludo, lacrumae laetitiae, exilium civitati, inopia vitae; sic Ribbeckius l. s. [= *Emend. Merc. Pl. Spicilegium*] 12 sq., qui delevit v. 849 (cf. Loewius praef. XIII) et agnovit amplificatorem qui versus 24 sq. finxit; idem interpolatum verum locum occupasse dixit desiderati post eum a Ritschelio, quo Charinus nominatus fuerit. solitudo ad inopiam pertinet (Cic. *Pro Quinct.* 5, *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 20, *Ad Q. fr.* 1. 1. 25), pertinacia ad iram (*De fin.* 1. 28). cf. Ter. *Ad.* 303.

In other words 846 and 848 show an approximately chiasmic balancing of contrasted ideas; the chiasmus is, however, marred by the position of *amicitiam* and *inimicitiam*, and such an artificial chiasmic grouping of nouns is without parallel in Plautus. But let us have Leo's interpretation clearly before us: *vitam* - *inopiam*, *amicitiam* - *inimicitiam*, *civitatem* - *exsilium*, *laetitiam* - *lacrumas*, *ludum* - *maerorem*, *iocum* - *iram*; on the other hand 849 is not genuine, but *solitudo* expands the idea of *inopia* in 848, *pertinacia* the idea of *ira* in 848; the amplifier is the same person who invented vs. 24 ff. discussed in the previous section of this paper. My own contention is that Plautus was quite oblivious of any such chiasmic arrangement, that he was more or less conscious of

two triads in 846 and of three pairs in 848, that the contrast between 846 and 848 is only in the general content of each verse and not between individual members of the two groups of six; finally, that the grouping practically ceases in 849, though the ideas in 849 are in harmony with the content of 848, that 849 may be a later addition, but is comparable to the looser additions in 29-31 as compared with the firmer grouping of 19, 25-28 in the passage discussed in the previous section. The evidence for my interpretation I present as briefly as possible.

1. *Vita amicitia civitas*.—The reflection of Greek philosophical theories of friendship in Plautus Leo has himself briefly indicated in *Plaut. Forsch.* 114 ff. It is not an improbable assumption that the interrelation of life, friendship, and the body politic set forth in Cicero *De amicitia* 22, 23 represents views current in Greece in the time of Philemon:

Principio qui potest esse "vita vitalis," ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit? . . . id si minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit, ex dissensionibus atque ex discordiis perspicui potest: quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis et discidiis funditus possit everti? ex quo quantum boni sit in amicitia iudicari potest.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Laetitia ludus iocus*.—*Ludus* and *iocus* constitute in Plautus and in later Latin, as we have seen above (p. 8), an inseparable group.<sup>2</sup> To this pair *laetitia* is prefixed for alliterative effect: cf. for the prefixing of a related idea *Gaudium* | *Iocus Ludus Bacch.* 115, and for alliterative effects with *laetitia*, *laetitia lubentiaque St.* 276, *prae laetitia lacrumae St.* 466.

3. *Ira inimicitia*.—Cf. *inimicitia ira ulciscendi tempus observans Cic. Tusc. disp.* 4. 21.

4. *Maeror lacrumae*.—Cf. . . . , *luctum maerorem, . . . . Vid. ii (viii), cura miseria aegritudo, lacrumae lamentatio Merc.*

<sup>1</sup> To this should be added the dictum in the same essay (86): *sine amicitia vitam esse nullam*, with which should be compared Seneca *Ep.* 9. 17; 6. 4; and the Greek expression of the same thought in Aristotle, *Ethic.* 1155 a. 5: *ἀνευ γὰρ φίλων οὐδέ τις ἔσται ἂν ζῆν, ἔχων τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα*. Cf. Bohnenblust *Beiträge zum Topos περί φιλίας* (Bern Diss., Berlin, 1905), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> This established fact must be the starting-point of any interpretation of the grouping; it at once prevents any such chlastic grouping as Leo suggests.

870, *persuasit maeror anxietudo, error dolor Accius 349, mihi maerores illi luctum, exitium illi exsilium mihi Ennius Trag. 230 R.*

5. *Exsilium inopia*.—The passage from Ennius just quoted shows how congenial this pair is to the preceding pair. For this pair cf. *multis sum modis circumventus, morbo, exsilio atque inopia Ennius Trag. 20 R., qui mortem, qui dolorem, qui exsilium, qui egestatem timet Cic. De off. 2. 38, egestate exsilio, vinculis verberibus Cic. De repub. 3. 34.* Further evidence may be attainable in Giesecke *De philos. veterum quae ad exilium pertinent sententiis* (Leipzig, 1891), which I have not been able to secure.

6. *Solitudo stultitia, exitium, pertinacia*.—I have no disposition to defend the authenticity of this verse. It is obvious that the *sex sodales* of 845 leads us to expect a parallelism which is destroyed by the ten *sodales* of 848, 849. But a few comments are not out of place. Leo's contention that *solitudinem* belongs in a group with *inopia* is certainly strengthened by his references to Cicero (*Pro Quinct. 5, Pro Rosc. Amer. 20, Ad Q. fr. i. 1. 25*), though he might more appropriately have quoted Plautus *As. 163: solus solitudine ego ted atque ab egestate abstuli.* At the same time it is worth noting that *solitudo* is congenial company for *inimicitia* in the negative sense of "being without friends": for this association cf. Cicero *De amicitia 87, De off. 1. 153, Sen. Ep. 9. 17, 6. 4, Dio Chrysost. 3. p. 132 R.* (καὶ μὴν ὦν εἶπον ἡδέων τὸ μὲν κοινωνεῖν φίλοις τερπνότατον· μόνον δὲ ἀπολαύειν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, πάντων ἀηδέστατον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπομείνειεν.) Cf. Bohnenblust *op. cit.*, p. 11. Possibly *pertinacia* is associated with *ira*, as Leo concludes from Cicero *De fin. 1. 28.* It is clear at all events that these four nouns are loosely appended to the more precise groups of 848. Not only is this comparable to the style of *Merc. 29-31*, following 19, 25-28, but if this passage be suspicious, what essential difference is there between these two passages in the *Merc.* and such grouping as we find in *Capt. 770: laudem lucrum, ludum iocum, festivitatem ferias, | pompam penum potationes, saturitatem, gaudium?* Here again, four groups rather precisely formed, are followed by *saturitatem*, which resumes the idea of

the preceding triad, and by *gaudium*, which certainly repeats in a measure ideas already expressed in the previous verse, although, to be sure, it has a distinct recapitulating climactic force.

An interpretation of these phenomena in Plautus' grouping of nouns is hardly to be ventured until related phases of his style are studied, and the general development of corresponding features in Latin prose and poetry more thoroughly investigated. For the present a few provisional comments may be hazarded. A racial sensitiveness to orderly logical arrangement may be postulated, and at least in the early stages of Latin literature a racial sensitiveness to sound-effects. In Plautus the poet's own individuality was somewhat at odds with the racial sensitiveness to logical arrangements; to some extent this results from the artistic purpose of his work—comic incongruity may have prompted some of the groupings which we have interpreted, and the character and the situation are always factors to be reckoned with; but it is difficult to escape the conclusion, which is patent from comparisons with Terence and the writers of Greek comedy, that there is back of the artistic purpose an exaggerated sensitiveness to sound-effects, and an inherent tendency to break loose from the bonds of precise, logical grouping, a tendency which is manifested equally well in certain phases of his dramatic technique and other features of his style. Doubtless this tendency was more freely indulged because conscious artistic expression was as yet in its beginnings, but whatever may be said for this, no sympathetic reader can fail to detect the strong, exuberant, if somewhat uncouth personality of the Roman poet even in such a subordinate feature of his style: here at least we are far removed from the atmosphere of his Greek originals.

## FINGER-COUNTING AMONG THE ROMANS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

By EDWARD A. BECHTEL

In spite of the difficulties presented by their cumbersome numerical signs, the Romans were yet able to perform complicated mathematical problems by means of the *abacus* and by a system of finger-counting. The truth of this statement is generally recognized; but when one turns to the various works on Roman private life for information as to the actual use of the second method he is doomed to disappointment. A quotation from one of the most recent writers is perhaps typical.<sup>1</sup> "In arithmetic mental calculation was emphasized, but the pupil was taught to use his fingers in a very elaborate way that is not now thoroughly understood." It is true that in Friedländer and in Marquardt,<sup>2</sup> somewhat fuller statements are found, but they are mainly based upon a later Greek writer, Nicholaus of Smyrna, and fail to present illustrations of any concrete problem. The passage which has long been regarded as a *locus classicus* is Quintilian 1. 10. 35:<sup>3</sup> *numerosum quidem notitia non oratori modo sed cuicumque saltem primis litteris erudito necessaria est. In causis vero frequentissime versari solet: in quibus actor, non dico si circa summas trepidat, sed si digitorum saltem incerto aut indecoro gestu a computatione dissentit, indicatur indoctus.*

No suggestion of an actual problem for computation is found until we come to Apuleius, who in defending himself from the charge of magic, is forced to touch upon the delicate question of Prudentilla's age and thus in rather vague language attempts to

<sup>1</sup> Johnston *Private Life of the Romans*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Marquardt *Das Privatleben der Römer* I, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> The following passages should also be cited to complete the references to this topic from the classical period. Pliny *N. H.* 34. 7. 16: *praeterea Ianus geminus a Numa rege dicatus qui pacis bellique argumento colitur digitis ita figuratis ut ecelxv dierum nota aut per significationem anni temporis et aevi esse deum indicent.* Suetonius, Claudius 21, *adeo ut oblatos victoribus aureos prolata sinistra pariter cum vulgo voce digitisque numeraret.*



refute his opponent's calculations: *posses videri pro computationis gestu errasse, quos circulare debueris digitos aperuisse.*<sup>1</sup>

The contributions of another African writer to this subject, and indeed to the general topic of mathematical study, have been strangely neglected. I refer to Augustine, the great bishop of Hippo, in whose works, especially his sermons, may be found certain significant passages that throw light upon the method of counting commonly employed in his time. At first thought, a sermon seems a strange field in which to gather material of this nature; yet to one familiar with Augustine's method of biblical exegesis—a method which he learned from Ambrose, who in turn was influenced by Origen and certain schools of Alexandria—it is not a matter of surprise. Briefly stated, this method is that which with almost a caricature of the term he calls the "spiritual" as opposed to the literal interpretation; it is an effort to find in the plain prose of historical narrative with the frequent occurrence of numbers that seemed to him so inconsistent with the dignity of the Holy Scriptures, some hidden mystery of divine revelation, disclosed only to the diligent searcher after the pearl of sacred truth. In this way only had Augustine succeeded in overcoming his distaste for that which had earlier appeared to him trivial or even revolting in some of the Old Testament stories.<sup>2</sup> Naturally the result of this perverted ingenuity is too often something puerile, which would appear ludicrous, were it not tragic in its awful waste of intellectual energy. Add to this a real Pythagorean feeling for the mystery of numbers, so characteristic of many early Christian teachers and so prominent in much of the early literature of the church. One passage may be cited in illustration of Augustine's point of view.<sup>3</sup>

*Et horum quidem numerorum causas cur in scripturis sanctis positi sint, potest alius alias indagare vel quibus istae quas ego reddidi praependendae sint vel aequae probabiles vel ipsis etiam probabiliore: frustra tamen eos esse in scripturis positos et nullas causas esse mysticas cur illic isti numeri commemorentur nemo tam stultus ineptusque contenderit.*

Even proper names are given a mystical interpretation in accordance with the numerical value of the letters with which the

<sup>1</sup> Apuleius *Apologia* 89. Cf. L. C. Purser *Hermathena* XXXIII, pp. 391-93.

<sup>2</sup> *Confessiones* 6. 3. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *De Trinitate* 4. 6. 10.

word is written in its Greek form. To cite one illustration only, Adam is thus made an unconscious prophet of the forty-six years of the building of the temple.<sup>1</sup>

Of the passages more properly illustrating the topic of this paper, the first is found in *Sermon. clxxv. 1*. Here by a species of *contaminatio*, Augustine attempts to find a connection between the "ninety and nine" of the parable, whom he identifies with the Jews, and the goats standing at the left hand on the day of judgment.

Superbiebant Iudaei, extollebant se, alta sapiebant, iustos se putabant et Dominum colligentem peccatores insuper accusabant. Qui ergo superbiebant et alta sapiebant, relictī sunt in montibus, ad nonaginta novem pertinent. Quid est, relictī sunt in montibus? Relictī sunt in timore terreno. Quid est, ad nonaginta novem pertinent? In sinistra sunt, non in dextera. Nonaginta enim et novem in sinistra numerantur: unum adde, ad dexteram transitur.

From the last words, the one conclusion to be drawn is that the members of the congregation addressed by Augustine were perfectly familiar with a method of counting by which the numbers from one to ninety-nine were represented on the left hand, while the sign for one hundred was formed on the right hand. This view is supported by other passages from the sermons which will be mentioned later and particularly by the *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium cxxii. 7*: quia in summa centenarii numerus ad dexteram transit.

An interesting parallel is thus presented to the lines of Juvenal *Satire x. 248, 249* with their reference to the long life of Nestor.

Felix nimirum qui tot per saecula mortem  
Distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos.

A second series of interesting passages from Augustine's sermons is based upon his interpretation of John 21. 1-14.<sup>2</sup> After

<sup>1</sup> *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium x. 12*: Quomodo ergo ibi invenimus et quadrenarium senarium numerum? Ad litteras computant Graeci. Quod nos facimus a litteram, ipsi lingua sua ponunt alpha et vocatur alpha unum. Ubi scribunt δ, vocatur in numeris ipeorum quatuor—m quod nos dicimus et illi dicunt my μ, quadraginta significat. Iam videte istae litterae quem numerum habeant et ibi invenietis quadraginta sex annis aedificatum templum.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermones cclxviii. 3; cexlix. 3; ccl. 3; celi. 5-7; cclii. 8-11; celxx. 7; Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium cxxii. 8; Enarrationes in Psalmos xlix. 9; cl. 1.*

the resurrection Jesus appeared at the Sea of Tiberias to certain of his disciples, who in the discouragement and despair that followed the Crucifixion had returned to their former occupation of fishermen. After casting their net to the right hand at the command of their Lord, they drew it back to land "full of great fishes one hundred and fifty and three." But why one hundred and fifty-three rather than any other number?<sup>1</sup> Here evidently is a sacred mystery for the preacher to interpret to his people and he succeeds in discovering at least two solutions. His favorite explanation, however, is as follows: Seventeen is a significant number, because it is made up of ten, the number of the decalogue (*decem propter legem*) plus seven, the number of the Spirit (*septem propter Spiritum*). Now if all the numbers from unity to seventeen in an ascending arithmetical progression are added, the sum is just one hundred and fifty-three. On several occasions Augustine calls on his audience to follow the calculation for themselves and his words offer us some hint of the method employed, although unfortunately only the earlier combinations in the addition are mentioned.

*Sermon. cclxviii. 5 and cclxx. 7: Apud vos numerate: sic computate. Decem et septem faciunt centum quinquaginta tres: si vero computes ab uno usque ad decem et septem et addas numeros omnes—unum, duo, tria: sicut unum et duo et tria faciunt sex; sex, quatuor et quinque faciunt quindecim: sic pervenis usque ad decem et septem, portans in digitis centum quinquaginta tres.*

We are justified, surely, in drawing from this passage the conclusion that in the congregation of this North African church, composed mainly of persons in humble circumstances and apparently with rather slight educational advantages, there were many who were able to perform rapidly on their fingers this calculation, which, it must be admitted, is not one of great simplicity.

In his commentary on the same text, Augustine again alludes to the use of the right hand for numbers above one hundred. Thus in *Sermon. ccli. 7* after the explanation of the mystical

<sup>1</sup>*Sermones cclxviii. 1: Numquam hoc Dominus iuberet nisi aliquid significare vellet, quod nobis nosse expediret. Quid ergo pro magno potuit ad Iesum Christum pertinere, si pisces caperentur aut si non caperentur? Sed illa piscatio nostra erat significatio.*

number, this exhortation follows: cum pertinueris ad decem et septem, iam exinde excrescet numerus ad centum quinquaginta tres. Eris ad dexteram coronandus: ne remaneas ad sinistram damnandus.

A question naturally arises as to the identity of the system of computation thus employed in Africa at the close of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, with that in vogue in Italy at the time of Quintilian. In this connection it should be remembered that while Augustine was trained in the African cities of Thageste and Carthage, yet the educational system of these provincial schools was practically identical with that of Italy, where indeed he afterward taught, and in all probability had not been greatly changed since the time of the early empire. More positive evidence, however, is afforded by a comparison with the early mediaeval system of counting as it has been handed down to us in the work of the Venerable Bede (672-735) entitled *De loquela per gestum digitorum et temporum ratione*.<sup>1</sup> This must have been drawn from early sources; at the same time, it is in complete accord with the passages cited from Augustine.

Fortunately we have additional evidence from a contemporary of Augustine in a far-distant province, Jerome, in letters written from his retreat at Bethlehem. In support of his favorite thesis of the supreme glory of chastity and the unequal merit of the three orders among Christians, the virgins, the widowed, and the married, he finds an analogy in the seed that "brought forth fruit, some an hundred-fold, some sixty-fold, some thirty-fold." His interpretation of this parable is thus developed in Letter xlviii. 2.

Centesimus et sexagesimus et tricesimus fructus quamquam de una terra et de una semente nascatur, tamen multum differt in numero. Triginta referuntur ad nuptias quia et ipsa digitorum coniunctio, quasi molli osculo se complexans et foederans, maritum pingit et coniugem. Sexaginta vero ad viduas, eo quod in angustia et tribulatione sint positae. Unde et superiori digito deprimuntur, quia quanto maior difficultas expertae quondam voluptatis illecebris abstinere, tanto maius est prae-mium. Porro numerus centesimus (quaeso diligenter lector attende) de

<sup>1</sup> E. F. Wüstemann in Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, Supplementband XV (1849), pp. 511-15 gives the text and also very interesting illustrations from the Regensburg manuscript.

sinistra transfertur ad dexteram: et iisdem quidem digitis: sed non eadem manu, quibus in laeva, nuptae significantur, et viduae, circum faciens, exprimit virginitatis coronam.<sup>1</sup>

Let Bede's description of the representation of these three numbers serve as a commentary: Quum dicis triginta, unguis indicis et pollicis blando coniunges amplexu. Quum dicis sexaginta, pollicem (ut supra) curvatum, indice circumflexo diligenter a fronte praecinges. Centum vero in dextra quemadmodum decem in laeva facies. (Quum dicis decem, unguem indicis in medio figes artu pollicis.)<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of the figurative passage of Jerome with the prosaic instruction of Bede furnishes convincing proof that each was familiar with the same method of the representation of numbers.

To return to Augustine, one somewhat indirect proof of the frequent use of "finger-counting" may be cited. If it be assumed that this was the ordinary method of performing calculations, it is natural to find *digiti* at times employed in a way that does not seem to admit of a literal translation. Thus in *De civitate Dei* xviii. 53, in refutation of certain predictions as to the end of the world, it is said: Omnium vero de hac re calculantium digitos resolvit et quiescere iubet ille qui dicit: non est vestrum scire tempora, quae pater posuit in sua potestate. In the *Enarratio in Psalmum xxxi.* 2. 16 he thus declaims against the astrologers: dicant illi electos et doctos numeratores siderum: dicant illi sapientes eos qui quasi digerunt in digitis fata hominum.

In conclusion, certain mathematical terms employed in the passages already cited may be briefly noted. *Computare* seems to have throughout the specific meaning of "count on the fingers" as opposed to the more general *numerare*.<sup>3</sup> This is consistent also with the use of *computare* or *computatio* in the quotations from Quintilian, Juvenal, and Apuleius in the early part of this paper.

The relation between seventeen and one hundred and fifty-three is thus expressed in *Sermon.* ccli. 5: A decem et septem

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Letter cxxiii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 513. The Regensburg illustrations explain Jerome's words at a glance. The system of Nicholas of Smyrna does not seem to be the same.

<sup>3</sup> As in *Sermon.* ccxlviii. 5: apud vos numerate, sic computate.

nascitur numerus crescens. In other passages *crescendo* is consistently used of an ascending arithmetical series. Where seventeen is said to be the seed (*semen*) of one hundred and fifty-three, the expression is probably figurative, suggested by the preceding sentence.<sup>1</sup> An unusual phrase for an ascending series occurs in *Enarratio in Psalmum* cl. 1: quod decem et septem in trigonum missis, id est ab uno usque ad decem et septem omnibus computatis, ad eundem numerum pervenitur. The phrase in *trigonum mittere* is not mentioned either in Harper's *Lexicon* or in Forcellini, and it was evidently too technical to be readily understood by Augustine's congregation, for it is directly followed by a definition introduced by the explanatory *id est*. It is perhaps, analogous to the English "pyramid-building."

The use of *ducere* is puzzling: sometimes it is a synonym of the more common *multiplicare*, sometimes it means "to add"—a use not noted in the dictionaries. Thus the first sense is illustrated by *Sermon. cclii. 8*: septuaginta quinque bis ducti faciunt centum quinquaginta; but in *Contra Iulianum* iii. 11. 22: nisi cum amborum anni computati et simul ducti centum transisse docerentur, the reference is clearly to the added ages of the husband and wife. The confusion is probably to be explained by the fact that with the Romans, whether finger-counting or the *abacus* was the means employed, the process of multiplication was performed by a series of additions, so that naturally the same term might be employed in either case.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sermon. cclxx. 7.*

## ON CERTAIN SUPPOSED LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS. I

By CAMPBELL BONNER

In his dissertation *De Alciphronis Longique aetate* (Königsberg, 1894) Hermann Reich put forth certain conclusions about the dates of Alciphron and Longus, their literary relations to each other, and the relation of Alciphron to Aelian, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Aelian in his *Epistulae Rusticae* imitates the letters of Alciphron. The "floruit" of Alciphron is therefore to be placed, at the latest, some years earlier than the date of Aelian's death (about 229 A. D.); and if, as seems probable, Aelian's *Epistulae Rusticae* are a youthful work, the date of Alciphron's activity must be correspondingly earlier—hardly extending beyond 200. A *terminus post quem* is derived from the circumstance that Alciphron appears to imitate certain dialogues of Lucian,<sup>1</sup> which can hardly be later than 170.

2. Alciphron borrowed some ideas from the pastoral romance of Longus, who is therefore to be placed in the second century.

These conclusions were accepted, not without applause, by Christ (*Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*<sup>4</sup>, p. 762, n. 2, p. 852) and by Norden (*Antike Kunstprosa* I, pp. 437 f.). Rohde uttered an emphatic protest in a brief note which has been incorporated in the second edition of his *Der griechische Roman* (p. 535, n. 3 a), and W. Schmid (*Jahresber.* 1901, pp. 258 f.) questioned the validity of Reich's contentions, and indicated in general terms some opposing arguments. It is the purpose of this paper and a following one, which will deal more particularly with Longus, to

<sup>1</sup> That Alciphron did imitate Lucian here and there can hardly be doubted, though in several passages it is probable that the two writers merely drew from the same source—the Comedy; cf. Boldermann, *Studia Lucianea*, pp. 38 ff. Even after the work of Volkmann (*Studia Alciphronica*, I: *de Alciphronis comoediae imitatore*) and some instructive suggestions of Leo (*Plautinische Forschungen*, pp. 128 ff.) there remains, in my opinion, enough material to justify a new and thorough study of Alciphron's relation to the Comedy. At some future time I hope to return to the subject.



supply what, so far as I can discover, is still lacking—namely, a proof in detail that Reich's views of the interrelations of the three authors are mistaken. The results thus obtained are negative except for some by-products; but that fact will call forth no disparaging criticisms from readers who believe that a convenient but unsound hypothesis is less to be desired than the truth.

Because of the minute and cumulative character of Reich's evidence, it is hard to avoid a tedious particularity in discussing it; on the other hand, considerations of space recommend an allusive treatment, which could be satisfactory only to those who have read Reich's work with scrupulous care. A mean between these extremes has been sought, though certainly not always attained, in the following paragraphs.

#### I. ALCIPHON AND AELIAN

Aelian's supposed imitations of Alciphron are found only in the short collection of *Epistulae Rusticae*.<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to them in Alciphron is a much larger number of *Letters of Country Folk*,<sup>2</sup> and it is just here that we find most of the passages supposed to have been imitated by Aelian. In both collections the subject-matter is, broadly speaking, the same, namely the ordinary incidents of rural life. Resemblances of a general nature are therefore to be expected. They would probably be even more numerous, had we the whole of Aelian's collection;<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, the verbal and stylistic differences between Alciphron and Aelian might in that case be even more marked than they are.

These general resemblances prove nothing except, perhaps, that the *epistula rustica* as a literary form antedates both Alciphron and Aelian. Turning to resemblances in detail, we find them by no means numerous. Reich tries to account for this by assuming that Aelian carefully concealed his borrowings (pp. 33 f.).

<sup>1</sup> I follow Hercher and Reich in maintaining the genuineness of these letters; cf. Reich, pp. 26-32, *contra* Christ *Littgesch.*<sup>4</sup>, p. 762. May not an argument for their authenticity be drawn from the phrase chosen by Philostratus to describe his style? *ἤρριψε δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ Ἀθηναῖοι* (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 31).

<sup>2</sup> Book ii in Schepers' edition, the numbering of which I follow throughout.

<sup>3</sup> The title, *ἐκ τῶν Αἰλιανοῦ ἀγροικικῶν ἐπιστολῶν* shows that these twenty letters formed part of a larger collection.

Thus he argues very plausibly (pp. 34 ff.) that in four letters (13-16), which depict the character of a crusty and misanthropic farmer, Aelian has derived several ideas from the *Timon* of Lucian. But when he finds in the fact that Aelian gave another name to his churl a proof that he was carefully concealing his debt to Lucian, it is impossible to follow him (p. 35). Aelian was dealing, as everywhere in these letters, with a somewhat vaguely defined type; to make use of a character to which other authors had already given a strong individuality would have been foreign to his method. Consequently he rejects the name Timon, though he adopts Timonic characteristics for the sketch of his unsociable rustic. Furthermore, in two cases certainly, Aelian has borrowed with no attempt at concealment. In one of these cases (*Ep.* 2), to which I shall revert later, he has paraphrased some lines of Menander's *Γεωργός*. In the other (*Ep.* 6) he has made use of one of the few humorous passages in Demosthenes—a sentence in Or. 55. 18. The language is very similar, and besides, Aelian has not scrupled to give to the writer of his letter and the person to whom it is addressed the names Callarus and Callicles, both of which occur in Demosthenes' oration. Here, at any rate, there is no careful concealment.

Before entering upon an examination of the parallel passages in Alciphron and Aelian, passing notice must be given to three arguments of a general character, which Reich evidently considers of some importance. They may, however, be dismissed briefly. In the first place, Reich infers from Aelian's unquestioned inferiority to Alciphron in style and diction that the poorer artist imitated the abler (p. 39). This will convince nobody who is versed in the history of literary forms, and it may well be doubted whether Reich himself would employ such reasoning today. Again, Reich calls attention (pp. 42 ff.) to the fact that Aelian represents his characters as Attic farmers (*Ep.* 20), but fails to produce the local color of Attica, as Alciphron does, by intelligent allusions to Attic festivals, place-names, etc. Herein he sees a proof of Aelian's plagiarism. But if we had all of Aelian's letters, Attic allusions would probably be numerous enough to nullify this argument. Besides, as will be shown later, Aelian evidently tried

to infuse the Attic flavor into these trifling letters by the use of rare Attic archaisms. A similar answer suffices for another of Reich's arguments (p. 44). Pointing out that both Alciphron (iii. 29. 3) and Aelian (*Ep.* 20) take occasion to account for the learned style of the letters by reminding the reader that the characters are Athenians, Reich contends that Aelian's style does not warrant such an explanation, and, consequently, he was merely aping Alciphron, the skilled Atticist. Again a false assumption. The archaizing tendency, as we find it in Aelian, was a recognized pedantry of the time,<sup>1</sup> fully justifying his apology without reference to Alciphron. And may not the apology itself be a motive borrowed from earlier Atticizing *genre-epistles*?<sup>2</sup>

Equally unsatisfactory are certain arguments that Reich derives from resemblances in the subject-matter of the individual letters (pp. 36 ff.). In one pair of letters there is talk of bees and bee-keeping (Alc. ii. 20; Ael. 5)—no resemblances in detail—in three others the life of the farmer is praised (Alc. ii. 12, 13; Ael. 20), two others still are concerned with a countryman's desertion of agriculture for the sea (Alc. ii. 4; Ael. 18). Surely matters of this sort are only the commonplaces of such a literary form as the *epistula rustica*. The violation of the country woman (Alc. ii. 35; Ael. 1) is probably to be reckoned in the same category, though the letter of Aelian is not without a suggestion of the rude phallic song of Dicaeopolis (*Ach.* 271 ff.). The rejection of cheap gifts by a courtesan (Alc. iv. 9; Ael. 7, 8) doubtless played its part in the Comedy,<sup>3</sup> and we find a similar passage in Lucian (*Dial. Mer.* 14). The fact that Alciphron alludes to the story of Timon (ii. 32) while Aelian depicts a crusty, Timon-like farmer (*Epp.* 13-16) only shows that both were impressed by the Timon

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lucian *Leaciph. passim*; *Vit. Demon.* 26.

<sup>2</sup>If Rohde is right in his conjecture (*Der griech. Roman*<sup>2</sup>, p. 541, n. 5) that the *Θαλαττογραφία* of Nicostratus was a work analogous to Alciphron's idyllic letters, we may place the writing of *genre* letters as early as the middle of the second century; *vide* Suidas *Νικόστρατος*. On general grounds there is reason to believe that this literary form, preserving as it does the idyllic tendency of the Hellenistic age, was cultivated from the very beginning of the new sophistic movement. It should be noted that Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 31) in speaking of Aelian says *ἡ μὲν ἐπίκαιρος ἰδέα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀφέλεια προσβάλλουσα τι τῆς Νικοστράτου ὄρας, ἡ δὲ ἐνίοτε πρὸς Δίωνα ὀρεῖ, κτλ.*

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Volkmann *Stud. Alciph.*, p. 24; Leo *Plaut. Forschungen*, p. 134.

legend as handled by other writers—the *Timon* of Lucian or perhaps the comedy of *Timon* by Antiphanes.

The points of similarity in details are worthy of somewhat more respectful consideration. Thus Reich shows (p. 33) that among the thirty-one proper names occurring in the *Letters* of Aelian, eight are also used by Alciphron, a proportion which certainly seems significant at first glance. However, six of these eight names—*Χρέμης*, *Φρυγία*, *Θρασυλέων*, *Παρμένων*, *Λάχης*, *Φαιδρίας*—are sufficiently familiar from the Comedy and other sources. Two are comparatively rare—*Ἀνθεμίω* and *Κωμαρχίδης* (Alc. ii. 29; iii. 25; Ael. *Epp.* 2, 4). Yet the former is used by Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, and Plutarch (cf. Pape *Eigennamen*), and it is so suggestive of rural surroundings that it is not strange to find both Alciphron and Aelian using it; compare Alciphron's use of the name *Ἀμπελίων* (ii. 27). The name *Κωμαρχίδης* occurs, aside from Alciphron and Aelian, only once; but that once, be it noted, is in Aristophanes (*Peace* 1142). Reich over-boldly declares (p. 42) that no traces of imitation of Aristophanes have been found in Aelian,<sup>1</sup> while on the other hand it is known that Alciphron borrowed from Aristophanes; consequently, Aelian must have taken this name, as well as others, from Alciphron's *Letters*. But proof of Aelian's use of Aristophanes will be forthcoming in the course of this paper, and the argument from proper names must be regarded as worthless.

The remainder of Reich's evidence is concerned almost entirely with rare words, or rare uses of common words, which occur in both Alciphron and Aelian. In the following numbered paragraphs Reich's citations are reproduced, and others are added, especially from the comic poets.<sup>2</sup> An inspection of these additional data should prove that the rarities had a wider circulation

<sup>1</sup>Schmid's study of the language of Aelian (*Atticismus*, Vol. III) was apparently not yet accessible to Reich, though it bears the date 1893.

<sup>2</sup>My obligations to Schmid's lists (*Atticismus* III, on Aelian) are manifest; in strictly verbal matters I have been able to supplement them in only a few cases. Schmid, however, does not deal with connected passages, does not separate comic from other poetic words, and does not note that comic expressions are disproportionately frequent in the *Epistulae Rusticae*. He has divined, but not demonstrated, the true position of Aelian with regard to Alciphron and to the Comedy (*Jahresber.* 1901, p. 268).

than Reich thought, and consequently that the inference as to an imitation is unwarranted.

1. Let us first examine two connected passages brought together by Reich, and compare with them a third from Aristophanes.

Alc. ii. 15. 1: τοῦμοῦ παιδίου γενέσια ἐορτάζων ἤκειν σε ἐπὶ τὴν πανδαισίαν, ὦ Πιθακ(ν)ίων, παρακαλῶ, ἤκειν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀλλ' ἐπαγόμενον τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδιά καὶ τὸν σύργαστρον· εἰ βούλοιο δέ, καὶ τὴν κύνα. . . .

Ael. *Ep. rust.* 2: τὴν οἶν τὴν τὰ μαλακὰ ἔρια, ἣν ἐπαίνῳ πρὸς σέ, παρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσκειπε καὶ τῷ βοϊδίῳ καὶ τὴν κύνα, καὶ τὴν Μανίαν καὶ αὐτὴν χαίρειν κέλευε.

Ar. *Plut.* 1103 ff.:

ἀλλ' ἐκκάλει τὸν δεσπότην τρέχων ταχύ,  
ἔπειτα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδιά,  
ἔπειτα τοὺς θεράποντας, εἶτα τὴν κύνα,  
ἔπειτα σαντόν, εἶτα τὴν ὄν.

In these three passages the common feature is a humorous mingling of human beings and domestic animals in an invitation, a greeting, or a summons.<sup>1</sup> Having an eye only for Alciphron and Aelian, Reich at once concluded that Aelian copied Alciphron and clumsily overdid the matter, "ut imitatorum est," as he puts it (p. 42). But the resemblance between Aelian's letter and Alciphron's is no more marked than that between Aelian's and the passage from the *Plutus*. In fact the humor of this idea is undoubtedly more distinctly developed in the last two passages than it is in Alciphron's letter. It seems decidedly rash to maintain that Aelian must have got this idea from Alciphron and not directly from Aristophanes.

2. The rare Attic word *φελλεύς*, a rough, stony pasture-land, occurs in Alciphron twice (ii. 18. 2; iii. 34. 3), and in Aelian once (*Ep.* 2). Reich says that he has found it elsewhere only twice—Cratinus, fr. 271 Kock and Isaeus 8. 42. Upon these circumstances he builds the following argument (p. 41): Alciphron uses rare and peculiarly Attic expressions often, while Aelian is

<sup>1</sup>The similarity between the passages in Aristophanes and Alciphron had already been noted by Volkmann (*Studia Alciphronica*, p. 9).

not wont to employ such unusual words; furthermore, Aelian imitated neither Cratinus nor Isaeus: consequently, he must have taken the word *φελλεύς* from Alciphron—a supposition which gains in likelihood from the fact that it occurs only in the *Letters*. This argument may be met with a direct denial of almost every point. In the first place, the second section of this paper will furnish sufficient proof that Aelian took some extremely rare words from the Attic Comedy. Again, it is by no means certain that he could not have picked up the word *φελλεύς* from even a cursory reading of some works of Cratinus. He quotes Cratinus twice (*N. A.* xii. 10; *V. H.* ii. 13), and it is probable that he imitates him in a peculiar passage, which will be discussed in the second section, "Aelian and the Comic Poets." Furthermore, Reich seems to have overlooked three important passages in which the word *φελλεύς* occurs—*Ar. Ach.* 273; *Clouds* 71; *Plato Critias* 111 C—an omission which can hardly be explained except on the supposition that he regarded *φελλεύς* as a proper name in those places. But it has long since been proved that *φελλεύς* is a common noun, and not the name of an Attic mountain district.<sup>1</sup> It is just as likely that Aelian learned this word from his readings in Aristophanes or Plato as it is that he borrowed it from Alciphron; and the fact that he uses it only in the *Letters* has just the same significance that we may attach to the occurrence of other rare Atticisms, not used by Alciphron, in this same work. Reich, however, finds what he considers a certain proof of Aelian's unintelligent plagiarism in the fact that he misuses the word *φελλεύς*, employing it, apparently, in the sense of "stone" instead of "stony ground." The sentence runs *Ἡμέρων ὁ μαλακὸς φελλεῖ* (MSS *φελλέα*) *ἐπέκοψε τὸ σκέλος* (*Ep.* 2) which, if we accept Hercher's reading, we must render as he does, *delicatus Hemero crus in saxum impexit*. This sentence, as will be shown more fully in another connection, is based upon a passage in Menander's *Γεωργός* where the corresponding words are *Κλαίνετος . . . πρῶν ποτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις | σκάπτων διέκοψε τὸ σκέλος, κτλ.* (Geneva fragment 46 ff.). The presence of *σκάπτων* here, and farther on (l. 65) of *δικέλλης*, the implement that Cleaenetus was using, sug-

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Kock on Cratinus fr. 86, or Wyse on Isaeus 8. 42.



gests *δικελλῆ* instead of *φελλεῖ* in the Aelian passage;<sup>1</sup> but it is hard to see how a corruption of Aelian's text could result in a word so unusual as *φελλεύς*. But granting that Aelian misunderstood the word, it is still not proved that Alciphron was his source. Neither of the two passages where Alciphron uses it would be likely to mislead an interpreter as to its meaning. One of them (ii. 18. 2), where something is said about a thief stealing a goat *ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως*—hardly "out of a stone"—is clear enough to set the stupidest interpreter right.

3. Another argument of Reich's is concerned with the ironical use of *χρυσούς*, "precious ass," which occurs in Alc. ii. 14. 2 and iii. 33. 1, and in Ael. *Ep.* 19. Reich remarks (p. 38) "ironice autem hanc vocem e scriptoribus Alciphronis tempora antecedentibus nemo nisi Lucianus semel adhibet (*Laps.* 1)." To this should be added Luc. *Indoct.* 9, and I suspect that other examples could be found in Lucian. Two cases to which Schmid calls attention (*Atticismus* I. 303), namely Luc. *Prom. es in verbis* 1, *Peregr.* 33, are figurative but not ironical. But as Schmid points out (*op. cit.* I. 164, 303), the way for this idiom was prepared as early as Plato. Cf. *Phaedr.* 235 E, *φίλτατος εἰ καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς χρυσοῦς*. Jowett renders this "You are a dear golden simpleton." Cf. also Cassius Dio lxxii. 16.

4. The very rare adverb *κορικῶς* occurs, as noted by Reich, in Alc. i. 12. 1, *αἰσχύνεσθαι κορικῶς*, and Ael. *Ep.* 19, *αἰδουμένη κορικῶς*. Add Ael. *N. A.* ii. 38, *βαδίζει δὲ (ἡ ἰβίς) ἡσυχῇ καὶ κορικῶς*. Aelian's clever application of the word in this last passage to the stately, maidenish tread of the ibis gives him a right to it from which we should hesitate to oust him in favor of Alciphron. Besides, the word was used nearly two centuries before Aelian by Philo *Vit. Mos.* i. 10 (Vol. II, p. 89, Mangey).

5. As another proof of the imitation which he alleges, Reich brings together Alc. iii. 5. 2, *θρύπτεται καὶ συνεχῶς ἀκκίζεται*, Ael. *Ep.* 9, *ἀκκίζονται καὶ θρύπτονται*, in which passages the two similar phrases refer to the simulated coyness of wily courtesans. But it should be observed that the MSS of Aelian show here *ἀκκίζουσι*

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above I find that the same conjecture has been made by Kaibel, *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1898, p. 158, n. 10.



καὶ θρύπτουσιν ἑαυτάς, a circumstance which lessens the value of the sentence as evidence, even though we must acknowledge that the use of these verbs in the active voice is unexampled elsewhere. ἀκκίζομαι occurs in practically the same sense in Philippiid. fr. 5, Kock, Alc. iv. 10. 1, 13. 15, 14. 5, Ael. fr. 123; in a somewhat broader sense, "to affect indifference," Plat. *Gorg.* 497A, Plut. *Sympos.*, p. 620B, Luc. *De merc. cond.* 14. θρύπτομαι occurs in this same sense Ael. *Ep.* 1, cf. Eupolis, fr. 358 K., Luc. *Dial. mer.* 12. 1, and Ar. *Eq.* 1163, a doubtful text. In a different sense Ael. *V. H.* i. 19, fr. 70.

6. Reich cites αὐτόχρομα as a "vox perrara" (p. 39) from Alc. ii. 22. 2, 26. 1; Ael. *Ep.* 12. He finds it elsewhere only in Ar. *Eq.* 78 and Luc. *Dem. enc.* 13. Pointing out that the *Demosthenis encomium* is not Lucianic, and reiterating the worse than perilous declaration that Aelian never imitates Aristophanes, he argues that Aelian must have borrowed the word in question from the vocabulary of Alciphron (p. 40). He goes on to show, by way of strengthening his case, that Alciphron uses eight compounds of αὐτο- while Aelian has only two in the *Letters*. This ignores the disparity in the length of the works under examination as well as the fact that only a part of Aelian's *Letters* has been preserved. But the whole argument may be disposed of by a fuller statement of the usage of αὐτόχρομα.<sup>1</sup> Add Ael. *N. A.* ii. 44; xiv. 10; *V. H.* iv. 20, *Ep. rust.* 8, fr. 118, a fragment in *Etym. Magn.* 438. 16 attributed by Nauck to Alciphron (Alc., ed. Schepers, p. 157), schol. Luc. *Pisc.* 37. The word also occurs a number of times in Aristides (*vide* Schmid's indexes). The contention that Aelian must have got the word from Alciphron is untenable in the face of the references given.

7. Alc. ii. 34. 3: τῷ δ' ἐγὼ ἐγκανάξας κύλικα εὐμεγέθη φλυαρίας φάρμακον ὄρεγον, ὃ δὲ καὶ ταύτην καὶ πλείονας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀδρότερας ἐκπιὼν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἀδολεσχίας. Ael. *Ep.* 4 τρεῖς ἀδράς ἐξεκάναξα κύλικας. This comparison does not, as Reich thinks (p. 39) throw any light upon Aelian's supposed imitation of Alciphron. ἐγκανάσσω and ἐκκανάσσω are two different verbs. The former appears to be found elsewhere only in Ar. *Eq.*

<sup>1</sup> For this word my notes were materially supplemented by Schmid's lists.

105,<sup>1</sup> the latter only in Eupolis Φιλ. 272 (Kock), *τήνδε* (sc. *κύλικα*) *αὐτὸς ἐκκανάξει*. Aelian's readings in the Comedy, which will be more fully illustrated in section II, makes it quite permissible to explain the use of this verb as a borrowing from Eupolis. *ἀδρότερον πιεῖν* is found in Diphil. Αἴρ. 5 (Kock).

8. *κιχλίζειν*, Alc. ii. 24. 2; iii. 42. 2; iv. 6. 3; Ael. *Ep.* 11. This rare verb occurs also in Ar. *Nub.* 983, fr. 333 (H. and G.), and in Theocr. xi. 78.<sup>2</sup> That Aelian was indebted for it to Alciphron rather than to Aristophanes is by no means clear.

9. Alc. ii. 18. 2: *ὁ δὲ λύκος ἀργαλέος πάροις*, Ael. *Ep.* 13: *σὺ δὲ . . . ἄγρικός εἶ καὶ γείτοσιν οὐκ ἀγαθὸς πάροις . . . καὶ μέγα κέκραγας ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπον ὡς διώκων λύκον, καὶ ἀργαλέος εἶ . . .* These passages are cited only to show at what straws Reich catches (p. 38). If any point in the comparison deserves attention it is the personal or quasi-personal use of *ἀργαλέος*, which is stated by L. and S. to be rare in prose. This use, however, is found in Ar. *Nub.* 450, *Eq.* 978, Menander Πλοκ. 2 (Meineke), all of which cases are cited by L. and S., and Luc. *Pseudol.* 19 may be added.

Such is Reich's evidence, which, in strict fairness to his method, I have been obliged to discuss at undesirable length. It will be observed that he does not call attention to even one point of resemblance between Alciphron and Aelian which cannot be explained in one of three ways: as a natural characteristic of the *genre* epistle as a literary form, as a feature taken by both writers from earlier sources, or as an expression belonging to contemporary or slightly earlier usage, with a wider circulation than Reich admits, and hence used with equal right by both authors. Partial or entire coincidences in the exploitation of the comic vocabulary have been shown to be especially frequent.<sup>3</sup> It is the purpose of the second section to show that Aelian's study of the comic poets was independent of Alciphron.

<sup>1</sup> In Eur. *Cycl.* 152, Valckenaer and Pierson read *ἐγκάναζον* for MSS *ἐκπάραζον*.

<sup>2</sup> Schmid (*op. cit.* III, p. 245) classes *κιχλίζειν*, rather strangely, under the head, "Aus dem Gebrauch späterer Schriftsteller."

<sup>3</sup> Alciphron and Aelian agree in the use of at least four words of comic coloring which are not noticed by Reich: *ἄβρα*, *αἰγίδιον*, *εἰλη* (cf. Luc. *Lexiph.* 2), *πανδασία* (cf. Harpocr. s. v.). Others could doubtless be added.

## II. AELIAN AND THE COMIC POETS

## 1. Menander Γεωργός, Geneva fragment 46 ff.

ὁ Κλαίνετος γάρ, οὗ τὸ μειράκιον [ἀγρὸν  
[ἐ]ργάζεται, πρῶην ποτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμ[πέλοις  
σκ[ά]πτων διέκοψε τὸ σκέλος χρησ[τῶς] πάνν.

50 ἀπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἔλκου, ὡς τριταῖον ἐγένετο  
βουβῶν ἐπήρθη τῷ γέροντι, θέρμα τε  
ἐπέλαβεν αὐτόν, καὶ κακῶς ἔσχεν πάνν.<sup>1</sup>

Ael. *Ep.* 2 Ἡμέρων ὁ μαλακὸς φελλεῖ (MSS φελλέα) ἐπέκοψε  
τὸ σκέλος πάνν χρηστῶς καὶ θέρμη ἐπέλαβεν αὐτοῦ καὶ βουβῶν  
ἐπήρθη.

Disregarding chronology, I have given the first place to this comparison, because we have here a context of Menander that is full enough to enable us to judge how closely Aelian imitated the language of his models. With this case in mind, we may believe that if larger portions of the lost works of the older comedians had been preserved, Aelian's borrowings from them would be more conspicuous, and cases of imitation which we now characterize as probable might be marked certain. These passages hardly need comment. Aelian's apparent misuse of the word φελλεύς has already been discussed.

2. Ar. *Ach.* 994 ff.:

ἀλλὰ σε λαβὼν τρία δοκῶ γ' ἂν ἔτι προσβαλεῖν.  
πρῶτα μὲν ἂν ἀμπελίδος ὄρχον ἐλάσαι μακρόν,  
εἴτα παρὰ τόνδε νέα μοσχίδια συκίδων,  
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἡμερίδος ὄρχον, ὃ γέρων ὀδί,  
καὶ περὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐλῖδας ἅπαν ἐν κύκλῳ.

Ael. *Ep.* 4: Τί σοι καλὸν εἵργασται καὶ τί σοι πεπόνηται χρη-  
στόν; ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀμπελίδος ὄρχον ἐλάσας, εἴτα μοσχίδια συκίδων  
παραφυτεύσας ἀπαλά, καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ αὐλιον κατέπηξα ἐλᾶδας.

The imitation is plain enough. It confirms ὄρχον, the reading of the Aldine edition and some minor MSS, where the vulgate has the impossible κλάδων. Brunck had proposed ὄσχον, Bergk ὄζον.

## 3. Cratinus, fr. 298 Kock:

ὡς ἄνω τὴν μασχάλην αἶρωμεν ἐμπεπωκότες.

\* <sup>1</sup> The text is that of Grenfell and Hunt. Aelian's imitation of lines 51, 52, which were known before the discovery of the Geneva fragment, was observed by Kock on Menand. fr. 98; see also Kaibel *loc. cit.*

Ael. *Ep.* 15. οὐ χείρον δ' ἂν εἴη οἰνωμένον σε καὶ μασχάλην ἄραι.

μασχάλην αἶρειν is noted by Hesychius and others<sup>1</sup> as an action characteristic of drunken conduct. It seems to occur in the literature only in the passages cited. The parallelism ἐμπεπωκότες : οἰνωμένον is an additional proof that Aelian had Cratinus in mind here.

4. μυστιλῶμαι, "sop up," is one of the rare Attic words satirized by Lucian in the *Lexiphanes* (§ 5). It occurs elsewhere so far as I can discover, only in Ar. *Eq.* 827, 1168, *Plut.* 627, and Ael. *Ep.* 9.

5. ἀποφράς, *nefastus*, as applied to persons is extremely rare. I have found it only in the following passages:

Eupolis, fr. 309 Kock:

συνέντευχεν ἐξιόντι μοι  
ἄνθρωπος ἀποφράς καὶ βλέπων ἀπιστίαν.

Ael. *Ep.* 15: σὺ μὲν τῶν ἀποφράδων διαφέρεις οὐδὲν οὕτως ἄγριος ὢν καὶ μονήρης τὸν τρόπον. Ael. fr. 325: ὁ ἀποτρόπαιος καὶ οἶον ἀποφράς. Synes. *Ep.* 79 *ad inil.* ἀποφράς ἄνθρωπος. The unfamiliar character of the word is shown by Lucian's defense of the phrase ἡ ἀποφράς (*sc.* ἡμέρα) in the *Pseudologistes*, especially §§ 8, 11, 32.

6. Other examples of Aelian's exploitation of comic usage may be briefly indicated without comment. ὠράζομαι, give oneself airs, occurs in Eupol. fr. 358 (Kock) ὠραζομένη καὶ θρυπτομένη, Ar. *Eccl.* 202, Cratinus fr. 272 (K.), in Ael. *Ep.* 1. ἐθρύπτετο καὶ ὠραζομένη πολλοῖς ἐβαλλε τοῖς σκώμμασιν, and again in *Ep.* 9, παρόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ὠράζονται (of courtesans). ὠράζομαι is not so used in Alciphron. ἐπιτύφομαι with gen. of person, to be inflamed with love, is found in Ar. *Lys.* 221 and Ael. *Ep.* 1; not in Alciphron. τρυγᾶν, *sensu obsceno*, Ar. *Pax* 1338 τρυγῆσομεν αὐτήν, Ael. *Ep.* 1 τῆς ὥρας ἐτρύγησα. Cf. Luc. *Dial. mer.* 1. 2; *Anth. Pal.* xii. 256. 1. Not in Alciphron.<sup>2</sup> βωλοκοπεῖν, Ar. fr. 761 (K.); Schol. *Pax* 566, 1148; Ael. *Ep.* 19; not in Alciphron. Amphis *Φιλαδ.* fr. 33 K.: δρᾷ τι καὶ νεανικὸν | καὶ θερμόν; Ael.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychius and Suidas s. vv. "Αἶρε μασχάλην," "μασχάλην αἶρεις;" Zenob. *Cent.* v. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Schmid notes Lucian's use of this expression (*op. cit.* I, p. 396), but not Aelian's.

*Ep.* 15: εἰ δέ που καὶ μεθύων κόρη περιπέσοις . . . τάχα πού τι καὶ θερμὸν δράσεις καὶ νεανικὸν ἔργον, cf. *Ar. Plut.* 415 f. ὁ θερμὸν ἔργον . . . . τολμῶντε δρᾶν. Alciphron does not use νεανικός thus, though we find νεανικῶς κραιπαλᾶν in *iv.* 13. 18. Cf. further *Luc. Conv.* 3; *Plat. Ep.* 4. 320 D.<sup>1</sup> The πίσινον ἔντος, pea soup, of which we hear in the Comedy (*Ar. Eq.* 1171, *Antiph. Παρασ.* 183 K.) is the dinner of Aelian's farmer in *Ep.* 4.

When it is remembered that the resemblances noted in this section have to do with rather unusual terms of expression, and that none of them is matched in Alciphron, it seems a justifiable conclusion that Aelian studied the comic poets independently; and in the light of this conclusion we should regard it as highly probable that the comic words and phrases in section I also were taken by Aelian directly from the Attic Comedy, and not through the medium of Alciphron's *Letters*. Aelian seems to have wished to reproduce in these *Epistulae Rusticae* the atmosphere of the rural Attica of the classical period, and to have sought to accomplish this end by borrowing from various sources incidents and ideas characteristic of country life, rare words used chiefly in connection with agriculture, and, in general, peculiar archaisms. He certainly drew upon Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Menander, probably upon Eupolis and Cratinus; others also may have been used, for my notes bearing upon his relations to earlier writers make no claim to completeness. The *Letters* owe more to the Comedy than to other sources simply because its popular language and its frequent introduction of rural personages made its vocabulary and its ideas especially adaptable. If we knew more Attic comedies, it is likely that we should be able to declare without qualification what I already suspect in view of the evidence at hand—namely, that these *Letters* of Aelian are throughout little more than a stupid patchwork of material derived chiefly from the Comedy. I cannot believe, therefore, that Aelian imitated Alciphron, as has been alleged; and although the date assigned to Alciphron by Reich is in itself probable enough, it must, in my judgment, be determined by other evidence.

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<sup>1</sup>This use of νεανικός is not noted in Schmid's index.

## THE BOOK DIVISION OF PROPERTIUS

By B. L. ULLMAN

The problem of the book division of Propertius is one that is familiar to all students of that author.<sup>1</sup> Lachmann was the first to challenge the division into four books which the MSS show, and to propose a division into five books. His views brought on a controversy which has lasted to the present day. Only one serious objection, outside of the testimony of the MSS, has been raised against Lachmann's theory. Nonius Marcellus (169M) under the word *secundare* has *Propertius Elegiarum lib. III* followed by a quotation of iii. 21. 14 according to the MS division, or iv. 21. 14 according to Lachmann's division. The Lachmann adherents met this by saying that the MSS were wrong, that Nonius wrote *iiii* not *iii*. Müller and Lindsay, accordingly, adopted this change in their editions of Nonius, the former noting that the vulgate reading was *iii*, the latter making no comment whatever in his scanty apparatus. Quicherat and Onions retained *iii*, without comment. Birt,<sup>2</sup> after a very careful and searching investigation, found another solution. His theory is that the first book was published separately and was called the *Monobiblos*, a name which is supported by MS authority and by an ancient title to one of the *apophoreta* of Martial. The rest of the poems were published, perhaps two books at a time, to make up one volume under the title of *Elegia*. Naturally they were numbered from 1 to 4, not from 2 to 5, as in Lachmann's scheme. In this arrangement the citation in Nonius actually comes in the third book of the Elegies, as Nonius calls them.

It seemed to me desirable to make sure that the MSS of Nonius actually had *iii*, not *iiii*. Lindsay,<sup>3</sup> in discussing the Nonius tradition says: "Our original authorities for the text are thus reduced to (1) L, (2) H<sup>2</sup>V, and for books i-ii med. PE, (3) the

<sup>1</sup>See Plessis, *Études critiques sur Propertius*, for a résumé of the arguments brought to bear.

<sup>2</sup>*Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 413-26.

<sup>3</sup>*Class. Rev.* IX, p. 357.

extract MSS, (4) F<sup>3</sup>." The extract MSS do not concern us in the question under discussion, because they omit the Propertius citation. P stops before this point, and E in this part is a copy of F.<sup>1</sup> Of the rest I have examined all but V, and in addition all the MSS in Leyden. They all have III uncorrected, except L, the most important one, which originally had IIIL, corrected by erasure to III, a state of affairs which nobody appears to have noticed. It is impossible to determine who made the correction. It may have been L<sup>1</sup>, L<sup>2</sup> (who used a MS of the "extract" class), or L<sup>3</sup> (who used a MS of the "doctored" class).<sup>2</sup> The question to decide is whether the common archetype of all the MSS had III or IIIL. The evidence is at least two to one in favor of the former, i. e., that of F<sup>3</sup> (which does not change III to IIIL),<sup>3</sup> and H<sup>4</sup>V (though I have not seen V, it is practically certain to have III. H has III, not touched by H<sup>2</sup>). I say at least, because the correction in L may have been made by L<sup>1</sup> or L<sup>2</sup> from the archetype. We must therefore decide that the common archetype probably had III.

There is one other question that seemed worth investigating in this connection. Hosius<sup>4</sup> cites three MSS of Propertius which quote the Nonius passage and have *in quarto libro* written out. I examined the three and found that Vatic. 1612 is dated 1480, Neapolit. IV. F. 22 (270) is dated 1465, while Barber. VIII. 58, though not dated, clearly was written toward the end of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, I found that Ambros. H 46 sup., which appears to have been written about 1450, also contains the Nonius passage, but has *Propertius in III. li<sup>o</sup>*. It gives the Propertius line (*Iam nitidum nautis aura secund& iter*) which the others omit, and besides, the whole passage is phrased a little differently. Probably the three later MSS give a changed (and corrupted) version of the Ambrosian MS. At

<sup>1</sup> Onions' edition of *Nonius*, p. xx, Lindsay's edition, p. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> For these corrections see Lindsay in *A. J. P.* XXII, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> F<sup>3</sup> would not be likely to overlook this point, as he corrects *liqui* ~~ad~~ *dum* immediately after. I agree with Brown (*Class. Rev.* IX, p. 450) in assigning the deletion to F<sup>3</sup>. It is in the light brown ink. Lindsay, by implication, makes it the same hand. (*Class. Rev.* X, p. 16.)

<sup>4</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* XLVI, pp. 587, 588.



any rate the presence of the Propertius line in this MS shows that its text does not come from any of the other MSS or their archetype.

I think I have shown that the common archetype of the Nonius MSS had III, not IIIL. That does not prove, however, that this is what Nonius himself wrote. The archetype may have been wrong: the interchange of IIIL and III is a mistake easily made. In Book II of Nonius I find twenty-two cases of variation in the MSS cited in Onions' critical apparatus. It may be remarked that seventeen of these show IIIL for III, and only five show III for IIIL.

Birt's other arguments, though plausible, have not convinced all scholars, and further light, if it can be obtained, will not be without interest. After giving evidence tending to show that the first book remained separate from the rest of the elegies during antiquity, Birt (*op. cit.*, p. 425) remarks that the *Tetrabiblos* was better known and more widely read than the *Monobiblos*. Evidence for this is the fact that, of eleven citations by the grammarians, none is from the first book, and that only among the wall inscriptions of Pompeii is there a reminiscence of a line from the first book. These facts are still more striking than Birt makes them. Eleven different passages of Propertius are quoted in Latin literature, according to Baehrens' edition, most of them by the grammarians. They are:<sup>1</sup>

- ii. 1. 2: Caesius Bassus (K. VI, p. 264, 10)
- ii. 3. 24: Macrobius (K. V, p. 626, 17)
- ii. 9. 41: Servius ad Verg. *Buc.* v. 21
- ii. 13. 35: Charisius (K. I, p. 89, 23)
- ii. 13. 35: *De Dub. Nom.* (K. V, p. 588, 5)
- ii. 14. 1: Charisius (K. I, p. 67, 14)
- ii. 33. 37: Charisius (K. I, p. 107, 28)
- ii. 33. 37: *De Dub. Nom.* (K. V, p. 590, 24)
- ii. 34. 65-66: Donatus *Vit. Verg.*
- ii. 34. 65-66: *Anth. Lat.* I. 264
- iii. 8. 37: Priscian (K. II, p. 536, 15)
- iii. 8. 37: Diomedes (K. I, p. 369, 22)
- iii. 11. 15: Charisius (K. I, p. 103, 17)

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript numbering is followed.

iii. 11. 15: *De Dub. Nom.* (K. V, p. 576, 22)

iii. 21. 14: Nonius Marc. (169 M)

iv. 1. 11-14: Lactantius *Instit.* ii. 6

iv. 1. 13: Isidorus *Orig.* xviii. 4

Some of these passages are quoted more than once; in only one case is it probable that the quotations are independent: iv. 1. 11-14 are quoted by Lactantius, and line 13 is quoted also by Isidorus, who does not seem to have drawn from Lactantius. In addition it is clear that iv. 10. 44 was originally cited in *De Dub. Nom.* K. V, p. 592, 5: *Torques generis feminini, ut Propertius\* 'torquem auream.'* Keil's note to this line reads: *excidit Propertii uersus* III. 10. 44. *torques ab incisa decidit unca gula. torques aureae ex Varrone attulit Nonius.*<sup>1</sup> Besides, Baehrens gives two quotations from the Pompeian wall inscriptions, one of iii. 16. 13-14 in *CIL* IV. 1950 and the other of iv. 5. 47-48 in *CIL* IV. 1894. To this may be added a third, ii. 5. 9-10 in *Acta inst. arch. R.* 1875, p. 190 (Buecheler *Carm. epig.*, p. 823). The grand total is sixteen, divided equally, strangely enough, among the last four books of Lachmann's division or the four books of Birt's *Elegia*. Actual quotations only are to be taken into account, and imitations cannot be introduced as evidence, because it is not always possible to tell which is the imitation and which the original. For example, *CIL* IV. 1520 (cf. *add.*, p. 208), has the lines

Candida me docuit nigras odisse puellas  
Odero se (= si) potero se (= si) non invitus amabo.

The second line is an exact citation of Ovid *Am.* iii. 11. 35. The first has been compared to Prop. i. 1. 5.

Donec me docuit castas odisse puellas  
Improbis (Amor)

<sup>1</sup>Possibly there is a reference to a lost poem of Propertius in the same treatise, K, p. 587, 18. The MSS read (l. 16) "Cotta nunc ad praesepia p p n̄ (so V; M has non) sunt in praesepibus boues et Virgilius plena ad praesepia ponunt." The first words have been emended to Contra <Tibullus>; the p p n̄ comes in the place where the name of an author should come, as Keil points out. It may be a corruption of propertius, through the stages properti', p p ti'. This fits in very well with Lachmann's and Birt's theory that some of the poems of the first book of the *Tetrabiblos* have not come down to us.

Birt accepts this as a reminiscence of our author. This does not at all mean that the Pompeian wall-scribbler had read the first book of Propertius. The aptness of the lines consists in their being direct quotations. A man is not likely to make up one line and answer it with a quotation from somebody else. Moreover, parts of the first line are found elsewhere (IV. 1523, 1526, 1528, 1536, 3040) apparently written by different people, which makes it probable that it was a well-known line as it stands. In that case, the poet who wrote it may have imitated Propertius or vice versa.

But this is not the only evidence to be gleaned from the quotations. The one from Caesius Bassus is of particular interest. It necessitates an examination of the nature of the poetical quotations to be found in the Roman metricians. In general, it may be said that there are two kinds, first, lines or parts of lines showing some exception to a general rule, or some other peculiarity, in which case the choice of lines is, of course, limited; second, lines illustrating a class or a rule, as, for example, a hexameter line. Here the grammarian had thousands of lines to choose from. Naturally he chose the most familiar: the first line of the *Aeneid*. Most of such quotations were undoubtedly made from memory, or from memory refreshed by a glance at the original. Citations of this sort are not confined, however, to the first line or lines of the *Aeneid*, though these are the ones most frequently found. The first line of the second book also is common. The better known the poet, the more various the quotations. So the first lines of many of the Epodes of Horace are quoted, though those of the first and second Epodes are much more frequently met with. The second Epode seems to have been more popular than the first, to judge from the number of quotations. In the case of the Odes, the first line of the first poem illustrating a certain meter is the one usually given. For less well-known poets, the range from which quotations of this sort are taken is more limited. The use of the first line of the work is the rule. The case of Tibullus is in point. He is quoted five times in what may be called the "general" way (described above) by the metricians. He is quoted once by Diomedes (K. I, p. 484, 19) in illustration

of his definition of an elegy as a poem consisting of hexameter and pentameter lines in alternation. The verses given are i. 1. 1-2, as was to be expected. The other four quotations are all of the line, i. 1. 6. It is chosen because it is the first "perfect" (i. e., dactylic) pentameter in Tibullus; lines 2 and 4 each have one spondaic foot. In the metrical fragment of Keil VI, p. 612, 12, it is quoted as a normal pentameter line. In the other three cases (K. VI, p. 616, 15, p. 127, 7, and p. 264, 14), it is quoted as a pentameter line for use as a base from which to form other meters. It is now possible to apply the principle just discussed to Propertius. The only quotation in the metrical writers is that in Caesius Bassus, and this occurs in connection with the Tibullus line just mentioned (K. VI, p. 264, 10.) The passage discusses the formation of the choriambic verse, and an illustration is given of the way in which such a verse is formed from a pentameter line:<sup>1</sup> *ad summam pentametrum heroum, qui habet dactylos primos duos, velut hunc,*

unde meus veniat mollis in ora liber,

*adiectis duabus syllabis longis facies choriambicum ex heroo pentametro sic,*

unde meus *nunc* veniat mollis in haec ora liber,

*et*

dum meus assiduo, luceat igne focus

*sic,*

dum meus *hic* assiduo luceat hoc igne focus.

The second quotation is the one from Tibullus, the first is from Propertius ii. 1. 2. This is surprising. Why is i. 1 not quoted? Is there no normal dactylic pentameter line in i. 1? But there is: i. 1. 4.

Et caput impositis pressit Amor pedibus

which can be changed to a choriambic line in this way,

Et caput (hoc) impositis pressit Amor (tum) pedibus.

Failing this, there were i. 1. 14, i. 2. 6 and many others in the first book. Why was the first book ignored? Two answers are

<sup>1</sup>The manuscripts are confused here, but Keil's text is probable. The point at issue is not affected.

possible: one, that the first book was not the first, but was farther on, perhaps last, in Caesius' manuscript of Propertius; the other, that it was not a part of the book of elegies which Caesius possessed. When the other evidence is taken into consideration, that of the sixteen quotations from the later books as against none from the first, and that which Birt adduces, we must conclude that the second is the correct answer, and we may say with a great deal more confidence than before that the first book was not a part of the book of Propertian "Elegies" known to antiquity.

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## THE VERBAL IN -TEO IN POLYBIUS

BY HAMILTON FORD ALLEN

The use of the verbal adjective in -teo "from Homer to Aristotle, exclusive" has been studied and the results of that study have been published,<sup>1</sup> so that we have a sound basis for the examination of the use of this verbal in the κοινή as represented in Polybius. In view of the completeness of Bishop's treatment of the verbal, it will be enough if we present the results of our study of the use of the verbal in -teo in Polybius and refer the reader to Bishop for comparison.

1. *Form.*—Polybius uses a verbal adjective in -teo 153 times, formed from 70 different verbs, simple 39, compound 31 (B., p. 5). From 48 of these verbs a verbal is formed once, from 11 twice, from 2 three times, from 3 four times, from 1 (δίδωμι) 6 times, from 2 (τίθημι, χράομαι) 7 times, from 1 (ἡγέομαι) 13 times, from 1 (εἶπω, ῥητέον) 15 times, from 1 (νομίζω) 17 times. Polybius is not peculiar in using the same verbal many times (B., p. 5). The verbal is formed from 46 ω-verbs, from 12 μαι-verbs and from 12 μι-verbs in which Polybius shows no decided preference for any one class as compared with the authors examined by B. (p. 4). Polybius does not form the verbal in any new way (B., pp. 3 f.).

2. *Use.*—In spite of the fact that the majority of the verbs from which Polybius forms verbal adjectives are used transitively a verbal used personally is found but once ὑποδεκτέος ἀν εἴη τρόπος 3. 36. 5. In view of the fact that Polybius has studiously avoided the personal use of the verbal, Goetzeler<sup>2</sup> ascribes this one occurrence to a scribal error and would emend accordingly. He thinks that Polybius uses the impersonal verbal in imitation of Latin, which, at the period at which he wrote, said: *oppugnandum est Athenas*; in support of this he quotes Draeger and Wölfflin.

<sup>1</sup>Charles Edward Bishop "The Greek Verbal in -teo," *Am. Journ. Phil.* XX (1899), pp. 1-21, 121-38, 241-53, cited as B. in this article. For literature of the subject see B., p. 2, note.

<sup>2</sup>Ludovicus Goetzeler *De Polybii Elocutione* (Würzburg, 1887), pp. 29 f.

F. O. Hultsch, in his review<sup>1</sup> of Goetzeler's dissertation, opposes Goetzeler's view, since (1) it may well have happened that some cases of the personal use of the verbal were contained in the lost parts of Polybius, (2) if we examine the passages where a personal construction might have been used instead of the impersonal, of such passages Hultsch has a list of thirty, it will be found that the impersonal form is used "wenn der vom Verbum abhängige Begriff zu einer gewissen Wortfalle sich erweitert," (3) the personal use in 3. 36. 5 has a better sound and is more suitable than the impersonal.

To this we may add that the personal construction of the verbal, though it is found in all periods of the literature (B., pp. 10 f.), is very much less used than the impersonal (1:10 according to B. for all the literature examined by him), and its frequency of use varies greatly in the several authors. Some do not use it at all. And Draeger (*Hist. Syntax*, p. 822) whom Goetzeler quotes, says: "Der Nominativ des Gerundivs mit dem Begriff der Nothwendigkeit und im passiven Sinne steht schon oft im archaischen Latein." So we need not wonder that we find but one occurrence of the personal verbal in Polybius' history in its present fragmentary state. It is retained in the text by Schweighaeuser and Büttner-Wobst. In all other cases the verbal is neuter in gender. It is never compared and is always predicative.

In the proportion of direct to indirect discourse, 5:1, the use of Polybius is about that of Xenophon (B., p. 8).

The impersonal verb is used absolutely (B., p. 14) 12 times: προσεκτέον 1. 64. 2, ὑπέρ c. gen., cf. 9. 15. 12; 1. 50. 5, 80. 3; κινδυνεύ- 4. 11. 7; εὐλαβη- 2. 49. 1, cf. 1. 14. 7; πολεμη- 3. 15. 12, 20. 2; ῥη- 1. 64. 2, ὑπέρ c. gen., 3. 58. 4; 12. 25<sup>a</sup>. 3, περί c. gen.; διαληπ- 11. 25. 3, περί c. gen.; νομισ- 3. 32. 1; πολυπραγμονη- 9. 19. 5, ἐκ c. gen.; στοχασ- 9. 15. 13, ἐκ c. gen.

The verbal is used 6 times with the genitive alone, and 15 times with the dative alone; quite a different proportion from that found by B. (p. 15).

The accusative of direct object (B., p. 18) of an impersonal verbal occurs 5 times of personal object, 21 times of thing object

<sup>1</sup> *Berl. phil. Wochenschrift* 1887, No. 37, col. 1142.



(masculine or feminine). The impersonal verbal is used with a neuter noun, pronoun, or participle with the article, in the singular 16 times, plural twice. Of course, the neuter noun, etc., may be called the subject of the verbal, but we can hardly think that the speaker made any close distinction between this usage and such as *ταύτης παρεσπονδημένης τοὺς αἰτίους ἐκδοτέον εἶναι σφίσι* 3. 21. 7, or *μακαριστέον τῶν προγεγονότων τινάς* 23. 12. 5, especially when we find such a use as *ρήτέον ἂν εἴη τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς δυνάμεως* 2. 24. 2, and *τῆς διαθέσεως μεγίστην μερίδα νομιστέον ἔθῃ μοχθηρὰ καὶ τροφὴν κακὴν* 1. 81. 10. These examples show that B. is right (p. 137) when he argues that, though the neuter noun, etc., may be the grammatical subject of the verbal, it is in reality the logical object. And they also show that, at least in the time of Polybius, (1) no distinction was made between neuter and gender words as subject and object, (2) that the impersonal verbal was not thought of as transitive-active when used with a gender accusative and personal-passive when used with a neuter, the nominative and accusative of which had the same form, and (3) that an infinitive (B., p. 131) is rather the object than the subject of a neuter verbal formed from a transitive verb.

With the impersonal verbal the accusative of thing and dative of person occur 10 times, the accusative and dative of thing once. Polybius does not use the accusative and genitive with the verbal.

With two accusatives the impersonal verbal is used 20 times, in each case one accusative being predicate. Still the line between two accusatives and O. O. cannot be surely drawn in each case, since several of the verbals taking two accusatives also take the O. O. construction (which occurs 26 times after a verbal).

A complementary infinitive is used with a verbal 6 times (B., pp. 130 f.).

The articular infinitive (B., pp. 132, 137) with the verbal is found but twice in Polybius, and if the statements above made regarding the objectivity of the colorless neuter with the impersonal verbal are correct, both of the articular infinitives must be considered accusative, the one 1. 62. 6 being the subject of *εἶναι*, the other 3. 4. 9 in apposition with *τοῦτο*, which is the subject of *εἶναι*.

With the verbal a *δτι*-clause (B., p. 133) is used only in its causal sense 2. 60. 2; *ὥς* introducing O. O. is used once 6. 50. 2, since in 24. 14. 4 it is in apposition with *τοῦτο*; a participle in O. O. is found once 12. 8. 1; there is no occurrence of a *δπως*-clause (B., p. 134) depending on a verbal; an indirect question occurs twice 1. 5. 2; 2. 14. 3; there is one occurrence of a conditional relative clause 3. 112. 5.

The agent by whom the action stated in the verbal is to be performed is expressed but 21 times, though a verbal is used 153 times, so that the ratio of use to omission is about 1:7, a much lower ratio than that found by B. (p. 242). Of these 21 occurrences of the expressed agent 11 are dative and 10 accusative. The agent is expressed by the dative of a personal pronoun in 3 passages, 1. 64. 2; 3. 21. 7; 15. 7. 3, where more than one group of persons is mentioned and the pronoun is necessary for the sake of clearness. In 3 passages the agent is expressed by a noun in the dative in all of which it would be impossible to omit it, and in 5 passages by a participle with the article in the plural. In 1. 35. 9 the dative participle without the article is a dative of relation or subjective dative (Kühner, 423, 18e).

By a construction which is peculiar to the Attic dialect the agent may be expressed by the accusative (B., pp. 242 ff.). In Polybius we find that this accusative-agent is used in 10 passages, while the dative-agent, which, considering B.'s figures, we might expect to find much more frequently used, occurs in but 11 passages. But in Polybius we nowhere find this accusative-agent expressed by a noun or pronoun. It is always a participle with or without the article. The accusative participle *without* the article is found in the plural 1. 14. 8; 3. 58. 4 (5 participles); 4. 41. 8; 12. 8. 1; 24. 14. 4; 35. 2. 10; in the singular 8. 1. 4; *with* the article in the plural 4. 27. 8, cf. 1. 13. 13; 2. 2. 2, where the same participle is dative, 5. 32. 5 (2 participles, cf. 1. 64. 2); 5. 98. 9. With the exception of 1. 14. 8, all of these cases are found later than the five occurrences of the dative participle.

The reason for using the accusative-agent in place of the dative cannot depend on nearness to or remoteness from the verbal; for the accusative-agent stands next to the verbal as well as widely

removed from it. Nor can it depend on actual or incipient O. O., though in 12. 8. 1; 24. 14. 4; 35. 2. 10 it might possibly be considered as due to this cause. For an explanation we must rather look to B. as cited above. In no case in Polybius are the dative and accusative-agent found side by side, though such a use is cited by Kühner (427, n. 2), and yet not with one and the same verbal.

As to the use of the copula when the accusative-agent is employed, Kühner (427, n. 2) says: "Der Indikativ *ἐστὶ* wird hier regelmässig weggelassen." Polybius omits the copula in 8 cases out of 10, using it but twice, *εἶναι*, in O. O. (B. 247). Otherwise the use is as follows: *ἐστὶ* 7 times, twice in statements of facts, 5 times in O. O.; *εἶναι* 4 times in O. O.; *εἶη* 5 times in O. O.; *ἂν εἶη* potential 9 times; *ἦν* once in the protasis of a simple past condition; in all 26 times, making the ratio of use to omission 1:5. The copula stands (B., pp. 252 f.) 21 times after the verbal to 5 times before it and is never separated from the verbal by more than one word.

The negative used with the verbal is always *οὐ* or some compound form of it (B., p. 9).

According to Kühner 427, n. 2 end, the verbal construction sometimes passes over to the infinitive and two examples are cited. In the former of these the change to the infinitive may be due to *δεῖ* intervening between the verbal and the infinitive. And in any given case, even though *δεῖ* does not occur, the change is probably due to the effect of *δεῖ* implied in the preceding verbal. This change, which is not mentioned by B., is found once in Polybius *δῆλον ὡς οὔτε* (15 words) *νομιστέον, οὔτε* (16 words) *οἶσθαι* 18. 13. 4.

The so-called philosophic use (B., pp. 7, 137 f.) of the verbal with the article does not occur in Polybius.

Polybius does not overwork the verbal construction, using it but 153 times in 1,369 Teubner pages. Nor does he pile up one verbal upon another, like Xenophon, for example, who, *Mem.* 2. 1. 28, uses 10 verbals in a space of 14 lines. Four is the the largest number of verbals which Polybius uses without intervening expressions of necessity or obligation.

## STUDIEN ZUR TOPOGRAPHIE VON PAESTUM

By TH. KLUGE

Zu der vorliegenden Untersuchung bin ich durch eine Anregung Koldeweys (*Neandria* a. a. O.) gekommen, der es für wünschenswert hielt, einmal die doppelzelligen Tempel einer genaueren Bearbeitung zu unterziehen.

Ich begann meine Untersuchungen mit dem älteren Tempel in Lokroi Ep., dann folgte die sog. Basilica in Paestum, u. a. m. Diese Untersuchung gedenke ich später zu veröffentlichen. Zunächst interessierten mich mehr die Tempel von Paestum, die ich ausserdem im Frühjahr vorigen Jahres sehen konnte, und daraus entstand begreiflicher Weise der Wunsch, zu versuchen, ihrer Namenlosigkeit ein Ende zu machen. In welchem Umfange und mit welchem Grade von Wahrscheinlichkeit, — denn beweisen lässt sich leider nichts Wesentliches — mir das gelungen ist, mag jeder beurteilen. Die Aussichtslosigkeit eines derartigen Versuches hat vielleicht viele verhindert, sich mit dieser Frage eingehend zu beschäftigen, schon aus dem Grunde, weil sämtliche antiken Zeugnisse über die Stadt für die Benennung der Tempel nicht das geringste ergeben; das darf indessen nicht abschrecken, und der Versuch das Rätsel zu lösen muss auch ohne ihre Hilfe unternommen werden.

Was bisher an brauchbaren Arbeiten über Paestum vorhanden war, ist ausserordentlich wenig. Die Zeugnisse sind zum ersten Male fast vollständig gesammelt in der inhaltlich überholten Abhandlung von Joh. Crosse: *Commentatio brevis, qua in Paesti . . . . origines . . . . inquiritur*, Halle Magdeburg, 1768, der die Anregung dazu auf einer Italienreise empfing. Ueber die Tempel selbst: Puchstein u. Koldewey, *Antike Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, dessen Hauptzweck eine genaue Aufnahme der Grundrisse war. Eine genaue Aufnahme der Tempel selbst bleibt vorläufig wohl ein frommer Wunsch.

Bevor wir indessen an unsere eigentliche Aufgabe gehen, wird es zweckmässig sein, dass wir das aus der Geschichte der Stadt

Bekannte noch einmal vorbringen, weil einiges Neue nachzutragen ist.<sup>1</sup>

Zur Ueberlieferung des Namens ist folgendes zu bemerken. Wir haben drei Namen: den griechischen *Ποσειδωνία*, den lateinischen Paestum und Paistum (-om); dazu kommt als dritter, aber zweifelhafter, *φυσ*. Paistum (-om) kommt nur auf Münzen vor, und repräsentiert die altlateinische Form.

Mazocchi<sup>2</sup> und nach ihm Pasquale Magnoni<sup>3</sup> haben aus dieser Form auf einen phoenikischen Ursprung der Stadt schliessen wollen, in dem sie Paistum vom hebr. פִּשְׁטִּיט (*sic*) herleiten. Es wird immer ein bedenklicher Versuch bleiben italische Stadtnamen aus semitischen Wurzeln zu erklären, und die mangelhafte Begründung (oder vielmehr die fehlende), die die beiden ihrer Etymologie haben zuteil werden lassen, hat es wohl bewirkt, dass sie keinen Nachfolger bisher gefunden haben. Trotzdem ist der Versuch nicht von der Hand zu weisen, schon aus dem Grunde, weil wir heute weiter sind, und mehr Vergleichsmaterial zur Verfügung haben.

Dass P. ursprünglich phoenikische Faktorei gewesen sein kann, liegt zwar nicht ausserhalb des Bereiches der Möglichkeit, denn wir kennen ja auch in Etrurien derartige Niederlassungen (Mommsen *Röm. Gesch.*, Bd. 1. a. a. O.), und im allgemeinen kann man behaupten, dass im westlichen Mittelmeerbecken dem griechischen Colonisator der semitische voraufgegangen ist. Die Funde mykenischer Tonware an der Ostküste Italiens und vor-mykenischer in Sicilien kommen demgegenüber nicht in Betracht.

Im bibl. hebr. bedeutet nun פִּשְׁתִּיט (st.c. פִּשְׁתִּי Flachs, bez. Lein, Baumwolle) פִּשְׁתִּיטָה, der auf dem Acker wachsende Lein (*Ges.* a. a. O. 1905) pl. פִּשְׁתִּיטִּים pun.<sup>4</sup> φοιστ = fist פִּשְׁתִּי, und dass diese Her-

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen *CIL*, X, pp. 52 f., wo auch die antiken Zeugnisse. Ueber die weitere Literatur; cf. Mau *Kat. d. k. d. a. Inst. in Rom*, Pt. I, p. 179, wo die Uebersicht der Literatur über P. Auf eine Reihe von Einzelheiten hat mich Herr Professor Huelsen (Rom) aufmerksam gemacht.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Tabl. Heracl.* (1754), pp. 498 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Opuscoli* (Napoli, 1804), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> J. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 233, 460. Die Identifikation ist s. Z. von Bochart aus den *Wiener Dioskurides-Handschriften* vollzogen. Ich konnte das nicht weiter verfolgen; die Ausgabe von 1683 war mir nicht zugänglich. Stattdessen fand ich: *Ausg.* 1692, Bd. 1., p. 88 סֶלָה = Sela, emissio aquarum. An einen Gleichklang ist hier wohl kaum mehr zu denken.

leitung grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit hat, beweisen die Münzen, wie wir nachher sehen werden, wenn man nicht den vorläufig unabweisbaren Einwand geltend macht, dass hier der Gleichklang eines Wortes zweier verschiedener Sprachstämme vorliegt. Der Name der Stadt stammt also von der Beschäftigung seiner Bewohner, denn wenn überhaupt dort Lein gebaut wurde, so bildete er einen Exportartikel. Der Name der Stadt ist damit von den Phönikiern gegeben, und bedeutet soviel wie Leinstadt, oder Flachsgegend. Es steht aber dies Ergebnis nicht im Widerspruch mit dem, was wir sonst aus den ältesten Zeiten Italiens wissen, dessen Bewohner Weinbauer, Arbeiter, und Schnitter waren, und dass der heutige Zustand der Gegend nicht auf die Zeiten, von denen eben die Rede gewesen ist, übertragen werden darf, bedarf weiter keines Beweises.

Aber, da dieser Fall für das Festland Italien vorläufig ganz vereinzelt dasteht, so können wir vor der Hand keine weiteren Schlüsse daraus ziehen, um so mehr als wir nachher noch eine andere Deutung bieten werden.

Ueber die Herkunft des griechischen Namens sind wir glücklicherweise genau orientiert, denn wir erfahren aus Strabo<sup>1</sup> dass Posidonia den Namen von seinem Eponymos<sup>2</sup> hat.

Der Name der Stadt wird von antiken Historikern, Geographen,<sup>3</sup> u. s. w., ziemlich häufig erwähnt; das ist aber auch alles. Aber wir ersehen daraus doch das eine, und die Denkmäler bestätigen uns das, dass, je älter die Zeugnisse sind, von um so grösserer Wichtigkeit die Stadt gewesen ist.

An der Mündung der Sele lag wahrscheinlich der Flusshafen Alburnum<sup>4</sup> (cf. Nissen *It. Lk.* 2, p. 892). Südlich von jener erwähnt Strabo (c. 252) einen Tempel des Ἥρα Ἀργυρά.<sup>5</sup> Dass er von Jason gegründet worden sei, ist für unsere Untersuchung

<sup>1</sup> Strabo c. 397.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. hierzu Str. c. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo c. 21. 22. 209. 211. 251. 252; Ptolemaeus iii. 1. 8; Dion. Hal. c. 73. 19 B. 1. c. 11; Scyl. Car. 4; Steph. Byz. s. v.; Lykophr. *Al.* 722; Cic. *Ad Att.* lib. xvi, ep. 6; Plinius *N. H.* iii. 5. 10, 7. 13; Vellejus i. 15. 4; Silius viii. 578; Pomp. Mela ii. 69; Mart. Cap., p. 218. 1; Enn. Dict. ed. Vogel. 1885, 8. p. 79. 2, u. a. m.

<sup>4</sup> C. Lucilius iii, xiv. (II) ed. Müller 1872; Vibius Sequester (1878), p. 9; Siler in Lucania, oppido Alburno; Pauly-Wiss. I. 1338.

<sup>5</sup> Dazu Grosskurd in der *Uebers. zu Strabo*, p. 439.

gleichgültig, beweist nur sein hohes Alter. Dann folgt 50 Stadien weiter südlich Posidonia. Es war von Sybaris aus gegründet worden, und wir erhalten damit einen ungefähren Anhalt für die Gründung; denn sie muss vor der Zerstörung und nach der Gründung von Sybaris<sup>1</sup> geschehen sein, also zwischen 510 und 731; näher jedoch dem ersten Datum und vor 530 (Herod. 1. 169.). Wahrscheinlich trug der Untergang der Mutterstadt zum Emporblühen der Colonie sehr viel bei. Später wurde sie an die Stelle verlegt, die die heutigen Ruinen einnehmen. Dass die Stadt in der Folgezeit mit dem benachbarten Velia rivalisierte, erfahren wir aus Strabo (252). Ausser zwei kurzen griechischen Inschriften, die uns den Gebrauch des dorischen Dialectes lehren (desgl. Solin c. 2. 10, Münzen) sind damit die Quellen, die uns über die Geschichte der griechischen Periode der Stadt Aufklärung geben könnten, vollkommen erschöpft.

Nur soviel lässt sich ersehen, dass die Stadt in der griechischen Zeit ihre Blüte hatte. Genauer erfahren wir erst wieder im 6. Jahrzehnt des 4. Jahrhunderts, als Alexander von Epirus<sup>2</sup> Paestum zum Stützpunkt seiner Operationen macht. Die Stadt hat jedenfalls die kurze Befreiung vom Druck der Italiker späterhin büssen müssen. Gegen Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts fiel die Stadt wahrscheinlich in die Gewalt der Lukaner. In welcher Verfassung die griechischen Einwohner sich etwa 300 v. Chr. befanden, können wir am besten aus der bekannten Mitteilung des Aristoxenos bei Athenäus<sup>3</sup> ermessen. Jedenfalls aber fehlt die Hauptsache, nämlich Tag und Name des Festes.

Eine durchgreifende Aenderung, die, wie man aus dem Verhalten der Stadt im zweiten punischen Kriege schliessen kann, als Wohlthat empfunden wurde, erfuhren die Zustände erst als 273 eine römische Colonie nach Posidonia und Cosa kam. Es ist auffallend, dass die Epitome<sup>4</sup> den griechischen Namen enthält, während Livius sonst durchweg Paestum gebraucht. Die Vorlage, die L. hier benutzt hat also entweder den Namen enthalten, oder der Epitomator tat sich auf seine Kenntnisse etwas zu gute.

Das Verhältnis zu Rom scheint bald Formen angenommen zu

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wiss. s. v. Paestum.

<sup>2</sup> Athenaeus xiv, 632.

<sup>3</sup> Livius viii. 17. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Livius Ep. xiv.



haben, die über das gewöhnliche Maas von Mutterstadt und Colonie hinausgingen. Nach der Schlacht bei Cannae schicken sie eine Gesandtschaft mit goldenen Schalen—wahrscheinlich Tempelgeräten—nach Rom;<sup>1</sup> dafür wird gedankt, das Gold aber nicht angenommen. Danach scheint sich die Stadt also immer noch eines gewissen Wohlstandes erfreut zu haben, was ferner auch daraus hervorgeht, dass Marcellus (210) laut eines abgeschlossenen Vertrages für eine Expedition nach Sicilien 20 Schiffe von ihnen, Velia, u. Rhegion verlangt.<sup>2</sup> Die traurigen Folgen der Schlacht bei Cannae, die den Abfall einer Reihe von Colonien zur Folge hatte,<sup>3</sup> bilden für Paestum eine Ausnahme, die von Livius rühmend erwähnt wird, und die Tatsache mit erklärt, dass die Stadt bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein noch Kupfergeld prägte. Dass die Stadt auch noch zu Ciceros Zeit Seeverkehr hatte, erwähnt er in einem Briefe an Attikus.<sup>4</sup>

Ueber die weiteren Schicksale der Stadt in römischer Zeit, hat Nissen (*loc. cit.*, p. 293) alles Wesentliche mitgeteilt; es braucht hier nicht wiederholt zu werden.

Auch unsere Kenntnis von der inneren Geschichte der Stadt ist nur unbedeutend. Als die Stadt noch griechisch war, erfahren wir das folgende: Im ersten Jahr der 78 Ol. (468) berichten uns Dionys von Hal. und Diodor von einem Siege des Posidoniaten Parmenides in Olympia (die genauere Angabe bei Diodor).<sup>5</sup>

Eine andere Notiz bringt Herodot 1. 167, die die Gründung von Hyela in Campanien betrifft. Ein Posidoniat legt den nach Rhegion fliehenden Phokaern, die eine Stadt gründen wollen, den Spruch der Pythia aus.

Später, in römischer Zeit, hat man dort schöne Rosen gezogen, denn bis ins späte Altertum machen die Dichter Rühmens davon.<sup>6</sup>

Der Vollständigkeit halber erwähnen wir noch kurz die Schicksale der Stadt im Mittelalter. Die mittelalterlichen Berichte schliessen mit einer Lücke von etwa 350 Jahren an die

<sup>1</sup>Liv. xxii. 26. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Liv. xxiv. 39.

<sup>3</sup>Liv. xxvii. 10. 7.

<sup>4</sup>Cic. *Ad Att.* xi. 17.

<sup>5</sup>Dion. Hal. ix, lvi, Diod. xi. c. 65.

<sup>6</sup>Ovid *Ex Ponto* ii. 4. 28, *Metam.* xv. 708; Prop. iv. 5. 59; Virgil *Georg.* iv. 119; Martial ix, Ep. xxvi, vi, Ep. xxx, xii, Ep. xxxi; Ausonius *Id.* xiv. 11.; Claudian *De nupt. Hon. et Mar.* v. 247; Martianus Capella, p. 215, 14; Columella ix. 37; Ennod. *Dict. loc. cit.*

antiken an. Bald nach 649 beginnen die Einfälle der Saracenen, die eine fortschreitende Verödung der Gegend zur Folge haben, und schliesslich die Verlegung des Bischofsitzes nach Capaccio vecchio (Caput Aquense) zur Folge haben. Auch Paulus Diakonus<sup>1</sup> erwähnt sie noch einmal. Dann erscheint der Name<sup>2</sup> noch einmal in zwei Heiligenlegenden; der des Apostels Matthaeus und des hl. Vitus.<sup>3</sup> Die Gebeine des ersten kamen 350 angeblich aus der Bretagne, 954 wurden sie wieder entdeckt, und finden eine endgiltige Ruhestätte in Salernum, wo Robert Guiscard eine prächtige Kirche baut. Das Material dazu liefern die Tempel und Gebäude (Arena?) von Paestum. Nur die Unbrauchbarkeit des Materials der griechischen Tempel hat diese vor einem ähnlichen Schicksal bewahrt.<sup>4</sup>

Von weiteren Hilfsmitteln, die uns dem Ziele unserer Untersuchung näher bringen können, stehen uns die Münzen zur Verfügung. Nach Babelon<sup>5</sup> zerfallen sie in 2 Klassen, wenn wir zunächst einmal von den Münzbildern absehen, mit verschiedener Abbraviatur, 1) Ποσ . . . , 2) Ποσ . . . *φυσ*.

Ueber die Bedeutung des Namens oder Wortes *φυσ* gehen die Meinungen auseinander. Millingen<sup>6</sup> denkt an Phistelia in Campanien, was sicher falsch; Lenormant<sup>7</sup> hält ihn für den ursprünglichen Namen von Posidonia; während Babelon<sup>8</sup> der Ansicht

<sup>1</sup> Paulus Diakonus *H. L.* ii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Capelletti, *Chiese d'Italia* 20. 334 ff., auch Ughelli *Italia sacra* X, p. 156, vergl. dazu MGH. *Auct. ant.* x, Mommsen, *Cassiodor.*, p. 400. 44, u. p. 409. 49, wo die richtige Lesung von Paestum (Plestrinus).

<sup>3</sup> Doch ist von dem letzteren nur die Rede bei Stadler *Heiligenlexicon* 5. 746. sp. 2, die ASS. 15. Juni u. a. enthalten nicht davon.

<sup>4</sup> Ich habe fast alles, was auf die mittelalterliche Geschichte von Paestum Bezug hat, auch die jüdischen und arabischen Schriftsteller durchgesehen, weil ich glaubte, es würde eine Kleinigkeit für die Tempel dabei herauskommen. Die Hoffnung hat sich nicht erfüllt. Ich kam darauf, weil Koldewey nach *Mus. Borb.* XV. zu T. 7-12, p. 22, Anm. mitteilt, dass man im Umgang des nördlichsten Tempels an einer Ecke auf dort Bestattete gestossen sei; diese müssen notwendigerweise Christen gewesen sein; dass der Tempel als Kirche gleich dem Girenti benutzt gewesen sei, ist mehr als wahrscheinlich, und es ist nur ein Residuum aus alter Zeit, wenn heute nur noch Bischöfen das Recht zusteht, in der Kirche bestattet zu werden. Dass heute noch eine zweite Kirche in Paestum steht, macht nichts aus, denn diese ist in eine antike Thermenanlage hineingebaut (Delagardette T. 1).

<sup>5</sup> *Monnaies grecques et romaines* (1907), Bd. 2, pp. 1427 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Millingen *Cons. sur la numismatique de l'ancienne Italie*, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Lenormant *à travers l'Apulie* II, p. 181.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.* 1434.

Head's<sup>1</sup> folgt, darin den alten Namen der Juncarella zu sehen. Man kann daher im Zweifel sein, was hier mit *μισ* gemeint ist. Es wäre doch aber merkwürdig, dass die Stadt ihren Namen von einem kleinen Bächlein, das nur die Breite eines Chausseegrabens hat, führte, und den viel grösseren Silar ignoriert hätte. Dass die Juncarella ehemals viel grösser gewesen sein kann, schliesst die Mitteilung Strabos aus. Die gesamte antike Topographie kennt nur den einen Hauptfluss Lukaniens, und konnte wegen des sumpfigen Terrains nur den einen kennen.

Danach ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass, wenn überhaupt *μισ* ein Flussname ist, dies nur ein Name für den Silarus sein kann. Ausschlaggebend sind hier die antiken Zeugnisse. Lykophron<sup>2</sup> *Alex.* v. 722 ff.

ἀκτὴν δὲ τὴν προὔχουσαν εἰς Ἐνιπέως  
Λευκωσία ριψέισα τὴν ἐπὶ νημῶν  
πέτραι ὀχῆσαι δαρὸν ἐνθα λάβρος Ἴς  
γείτων δ' ὁ Λᾶρις ἐξερεύγονται ποτά.

Ferner das Citat aus Parthax bei Herodian 19. 9 (*Fr. H. Gr.* III, p. 641. 21). "Ἔστιν Ἴς [καὶ] τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς Πάρθαξ ἐν τῷ β' τῶν Ἰταλικῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Ποσειδωνέαν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς. ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς Ἴς καλούμενος μέγας. Dass hier mit ποταμὸς μέγας nicht die Juncarella gemeint sein kann, bedarf wohl kaum eines Beweises. Aber bevor wir uns dazu verstehen, in Ἴς einen Flussnamen zu sehen, wollen wir das sonstige Vorkommen des Namens kurz erwähnen. Zunächst kommt der Name als Stadtname bei Herodot 1. 179 vor: (jetzt Hit) ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος. Ἴς ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἐνθα ἔστι ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας. Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὄνομα. ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρῆτην ποταμόν, κτλ. Das kommt hier selbstverständlich nicht in Betracht. Anders dagegen die Stelle bei Strabo, οἰκιστὴς δ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἴσ[ος] Ἑλικεύς (c. 273). Hier wird also Ἴς als Gründer der Stadt Sybaris erwähnt. Die Stelle ist verderbt, die Ergänzung von Ἴς zu Ἴσος bleibt zweifelhaft. Es stand hier offenbar ein Name, den

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. num.*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Holzinger, cf. auch den Commentar, pp. 278 ff. Der Ansicht Nissens *loc. cit.*, p. 895 Anm. 4, Ἴς u. Λᾶρις seien Bäche des Cilento vermag ich mich nicht anzuschliessen. Ich vermute, dass N. die Stelle bei Parthax entgangen ist; s. a. Garrucci, p. 175.

der Abschreiber nicht verstand. Der Name \*Is steht nun in keiner weiteren Beziehung zu *Σύβαρις*; anders \*Is zu *φυσ*, woraus mit Wahrscheinlichkeit hervorgeht, dass der Name des mythischen Gründers auch bei Posidonia wieder auftrat.

Wir hätten danach also die Münzaufschrift als Personennamen zu deuten. Das ist weniger unwahrscheinlich, befriedigt aber auch nicht. Es fragt sich daher, ob man nicht beide Ergebnisse in Einklang bringen kann, wenn man *φυσ* . . . in Hinsicht auf Paistom (Paestum) als ehemaligen Stadtnamen ansieht. Zunächst würde die Vermutung, dass \*Is der Name einer ursprünglich lukanischen Gründung ist, dadurch abgewiesen werden, dass er unzweideutig auf Sybaris und damit nach Griechenland hinweist. Weiter: Die Stadt erhält den Namen ihres Gründers, was indessen nicht einwandfrei ist. Die alte Ansiedlung der Sybariten lag in grösserer Nähe des Flusses, als die heutigen Ruinen Posidonias. Stadt und Fluss führten ursprünglich denselben Namen. Vielleicht hauptsächlich durch die Verlegung der Stadt, oder durch andere Umstände, die sich unserer Kenntnis vollständig entziehen, schwand der alte Name, und blieb nur auf den Münzen; das bedarf keiner weiteren Erklärung. Der Name des Flusses dagegen lebte weiter in der Mythologie.

So kann also \*Is ebensogut die Stadt als auch den Fluss und Person bezeichnen. Dass Stadt und Fluss denselben Namen führen, ist nicht weiter auffallend, und für das benachbarte Pyxus sogleich zu belegen (Strabo c. 263).

Gegen die Erklärung von \*Is als Stadtnamen<sup>1</sup> wird man kaum triftige Gründe vorbringen können, obgleich die Beweisführung, dass er es nun tatsächlich ist, ihre schwachen Seiten hat. Hingewiesen muss indessen darauf werden, dass der Name Silarus mit dieser ganzen Erklärung nicht zu vereinigen ist.<sup>2</sup>

Einen anderen Münztypus *Ποσει . . . Συβα . . .*<sup>3</sup> entspricht *Ποσ . . . Συ . . .*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schon Grotefend *Alt. Italien* II. S. 49 spricht die Vermutung aus, dass *φυσ* . . . der alte Name der Stadt sei.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. hierzu das obige Ergebnis aus den semitischen Namen.

<sup>3</sup> Garrucci, *Monete dell' It. loc. cit.* II. 175.

<sup>4</sup> Head, *loc. cit.*, p. 70.

P. 1435 erwähnt Babelon (nach Head) eine Münze, die gleichzeitig mit dem Namen der Stadt auf dem Revers auch den Namen des Silarus trägt. Das Stück ist abgebildet bei Millingen<sup>1</sup> nach einem Exemplar der Sammlung Dupré<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1867). An die Lesung Σειλε, die an und für sich, offenbar beeinflusst durch Πορ . . . φυσ . . . , unglaublich ist, ist nicht zu denken. Sie ist vielmehr Μέγυλ(λος) zu lesen, und ist ein Personennamen.<sup>3</sup>

Betrachten wir ferner in den verschiedenen Perioden der Münzprägung die einzelnen Münzbilder, so kann man, in Anlehnung an Head,<sup>4</sup> folgendes Schema aufstellen:

	Πορ . . . .		Paistom, Paestum
	— 480	— 400	nach 273.
Poseidon . . . . .	1	1	1
Hera . . . . .		1	
Demeter . . . . .		2	1
Athene . . . . .		2	7
Zeus . . . . .		2	3
Dioskuren . . . . .			1
Dionys . . . . .			1
Artemis . . . . .			1
Apollo . . . . .			3
Juno Moneta . . . . .			5
Mens Bona . . . . .			6
Persephone . . . . .			4
u. s. w. . . . .			

Fast derselben Epoche entsprechend (493–480) findet sich das posidoniatische Münzbild des Poseidon auf Münzen von Zankle (Messina) (B. Head, pp. 133 f. 82) und Caulonia (Babelon, p. 1463).

Sehen wir uns die Tabelle weiter an, so finden wir, dass die Ausprägung von Göttertypen erst dann in grösserem Umfange vor sich geht, nachdem die Stadt römische Colonie geworden ist. Ähnlich ist das in den übrigen griechischen Colonien in Italien und Sicilien der Fall. Versuchen wir einmal aus den Münzen auf

<sup>1</sup>Sylloge of Anc. C., Pl. I, 7.

<sup>2</sup>Millingen, Anc. C. p. 11, no. 58.

<sup>3</sup>Cat. d. berl. Münzslg. III. 2, p. 381 (nicht im Buchh. erschienen). Cf. dazu Avellino im Bull. Neap. I, p. 24. Garrucci loc. cit., pp. 177, 19–22; derselbe Name auf einer Inschrift aus Megara, Le Bas Inscr. II, nos. 27, 28.

<sup>4</sup>Head, p. 68, u. a.; (2) Cat. Berlin III. 2, p. 390. 391; (3) Mionnet Descript. Suppl. I. A. 734. Z. 737; (4) Cat. Br. Mus., p. 274. 8–11; (5) Cat. Br. Mus. p. 282. 77 (6) Mionnet ib. 815–17; (7) Mionnet ib. 781. 786.

die in Paestum verehrten Götter zu schliessen, so wird das nur möglich sein, wenn wir auch die anderen griechischen Städte Italiens und Siciliens mit zum Vergleich heranziehen. Für eine ganze Reihe von Städten, wie Akragas, Eryx, Messina, Leontini, Syracus, Tauromenium, Croton, Lokroi, Adranon, Thurii, Sybaris, Metapont, Tarent, Ancona, bis etwa 400 herunter, oder wenn wir die Grenzen etwas weiter fassen, bis zur jedesmaligen Colonisation durch die Römer, entsprechen die Münzbilder im ganzen und grossen auch einer Gottheit mit ihrem Tempel.

An Inschriften besitzen wir aus Posidonia zunächst zwei griechische:

(a) IG. XIV. 664: τ' Ἀθάνᾳ Ψιλλῷ Χαρμυλίδᾳ δεκάτα[ν]. Statuette einer Kanephore aus Bronze.<sup>1</sup> Hierüber hat Curtius bereits ausführlich berichtet. Aus dem Grunde, dass der Eponymos von Posidonia Poseidon ist, glaubt C. hier auf Athene schliessen zu müssen, vorbehaltlich der Tatsache, dass die Statuette wirklich aus Paestum stammt. Die Arbeit selbst gehört an den Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts. Aber das Bedenken von Curtius ist hier wohl zu weitgehend, denn, dass die Statue verschleppt ist, ist kaum anzunehmen. Curtius hat hier ganz offenbar Athenische Verhältnisse im Auge, aber was soll das für Posidonia beweisen, eine Kolonie mit stark dorischem Einschlag?

(b) 665: τᾷς θεοῦ τ/ς<sup>2</sup> παιδὸς εἶμι auf einem kleinem Silberplättchen, ebenfalls in Paestum gefunden. Die Inschrift enthält also eine Widmung an Demeter. Hier ist auch noch der Helm mit der Weisung an Persephone Πηριφόνοι [ἀνεθηκ]έ με Ξενα (IG. XIV. 631), der wohl eher nach Paestum, als nach Lokroi gehört: vermutlich zu den Ausgrabungen von 1805. (De Ruggiero *Scavi nelle province*, p. 461.)

Die römischen Inschriften (CIL. X, p. 52, Nos. 472–500) sind für unsere Fragen ohne Belang, und enthalten fast nur Familiennamen, Namen der duoviri, ausserdem zwei Kaiserinschriften.

Damit sind wir am Ende unserer Untersuchungen angelangt. Es fragt sich nun, wie die einzelnen Tempel auf die Gottheiten zu verteilen sind. Dabei ist natürlich im Auge zu behalten, dass auch noch in Paestum andere Tempel bestanden haben können,

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Ztg. XXXVIII, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> τ[ᾱ]; nach der Lesung von Wilamowitz. τ[ρυσέμνο]ν nach Welcker, Kl. Schr. 3, pp. 237 f. Rh. Mus. III. (1835), p. 581.



von denen heut nichts mehr zu sehen ist, doch ist es ziemlich unwahrscheinlich, dass ausser den drei griechischen, noch andere griechische vorhanden gewesen sind. Nach den Untersuchungen Puchsteins ist die sog. "Basilica" ebenfalls als Tempel zu bezeichnen, eine Tatsache, die Perrot<sup>1</sup> offenbar noch nicht bekannt war.

Ausser der Basilica haben wir in Paestum noch zwei andere griechische Tempel: den Poseidon und den Cerestempel und das Fundament eines römischen, des sog. tempio della pace. Ferner lernen wir aus der oben angeführten Münztabelle, dass noch zwei weitere römische Tempel in Paestum bestanden haben, nämlich ein Distylos für den Mens-Bona<sup>2</sup> und ein zweiter für die Juno Moneta.<sup>3</sup> Ausserdem noch einen Hexastylos, der aber ohne Besitzer ist.<sup>4</sup> Es ist das höchstwahrscheinlich aber derselbe Tempel, der den Namen della Pace führt. Dass es nicht der Neptuntempel sein kann, geht mit Sicherheit aus der jedesmaligen summarischen Darstellung des jon. Säulenfusses hervor.

Fünf Götter kommen für die griechische Zeit als Tempelinhaber in Betracht. Den grössten Anspruch auf einen Tempel hat Poseidon, schon aus dem Grunde, weil er der Eponymos der Stadt ist. Hier ist zunächst noch die Frage des Cultbildes zu erledigen. O. Jahn (*Nuov. Mem. dell. Ist.*, p. 19), und nach ihm wohl Lenormant (*loc. cit.*), haben in dem Münzbilde eine Copie der Cultstatue sehen wollen. Dem hat Overbeck (*Km.* 2. 221 f. 3. 77), Müller-Wieseler (*Ant. Denkm.*<sup>4</sup> S. 149), und neuerdings Regling (*Slg. Warren*, p. 15) widersprochen mit der Begründung, dass dieser Typus auch auf anderen Münzen vorkomme, und daher ein allgemeiner sei. Das trifft ja bedingt zu. Es ist indessen zu bemerken, dass dieser Typ auf den Münzen von Caulonia und Zankle nur vereinzelt ist, während er sich in Posidonia lange hält und häufig ist, mithin wohl Paestum die Priorität der Type zukommt und ferner, was hatte man denn in damaliger Zeit noch für andere Typen schreitender Götter als diese? Mir sind weiter keine bekannt, und ich kann nur der Ansicht J. u. L. zustimmen, wenn es auch nicht möglich ist, sie zu beweisen, zumal da bei

<sup>1</sup> *H. d. l'Art.* 7, p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> Mionnet *loc. cit.*; Carelli *N. It.*, tab. 131. 32-34.

<sup>3</sup> *Cat. Br. Mus. loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Magnan *Luc. num.* I. 27. 2. 3. 5. T. 30. 3; *Mus. san. clem.* 1. 245; Carelli *loc. cit.*, tab. 131. 29; Mionnet *Suppl.* T. 1, pp. 315, 802-5.



genauerm Zusehen der Typus in seinen Einzelheiten doch recht variirt. Für Poseidon kommt nun entweder der sog. Neptuntempel oder der Cerestempel in Betracht. Dieser ist älter als jener. Wir müssen aber den jungen als Poseidontempel in Anspruch nehmen, weil wir durch die Auffindung eines Delphinmosaiks im Tempel dazu gezwungen sind; es bleibt aber damit nur übrig einen Neubau an Stelle des alten anzunehmen, was um so eher wahrscheinlich ist, da der Tempel zur Zeit der Blüte der Stadt entstanden ist, sein Kult aber doch jedenfalls der älteste gewesen ist. Es folgt daraus, dass der Neptuntempel seinen Namen mit Recht führt, dass es aber richtiger ist ihn als Poseidontempel zu bezeichnen.

Für Hera einen Tempel anzusetzen ist nicht gut möglich, wegen der Stelle bei Strabo.

Die sog. Basilica war als Tempel natürlich für zwei wesensgleiche—oder gleichgesetzte—Götter bestimmt. Für Lokroi lässt sich das sicher nachweisen. Es kommen also nur die Dioskuren oder Demeter-Kore in Betracht; wer von beiden hier aber das meiste Anrecht auf den Besitz des Tempels hat, darüber kann kein Zweifel sein. Er gehörte den grossen Göttinnen von Eleusis, Demeter und Kore. Es widerspricht dem so gut wie nichts, auch nicht die Nähe des Poseidontempels, denn Demeter und Poseidon waren Cultgenossinnen.<sup>1</sup> Es ist ferner erwähnenswert der grosse Fund von etwa 1000 Demeterstatuetten, der 1820 zwischen beiden Tempeln gemacht wurde.<sup>2</sup> Wir werden also künftig nur noch von einem Demetertempel reden.

Es bleiben noch Zeus und Athene übrig. Wäre die Statuette gesichert, so wäre die Entscheidung sehr einfach, denn ihre Aufstellung ist nur in einem Tempel denkbar. Auf Grund der obengemachten Bemerkungen liegt indessen kein Grund vor daran zu zweifeln, und wir werden von jetzt ab den dritten Tempel als Athenetempel bezeichnen.

Damit ist die Reihe der griechischen Tempel und Götter

<sup>1</sup>Gruppe *Gr. Mythol.*, p. 1138.

<sup>2</sup>Lenormant *loc. cit.*, pp. 209 ff.; Gerhard *Ges. Abh.*, Bd. 2. Die Notiz Le. über den Statuettenfund 1820 habe ich übernommen, nach demich seine Quelle nicht ausfindig machen konnte. Ich vermute fast, dass hier ein Irrtum seinerseits vorliegt, denn auch bei Ruggiero steht kein Wort davon, wo doch zu allererst etwas stehen müsste (*Scavi di ant.*, pp. 459 f., 468 f.).

erschöpft, und wir wenden uns nunmehr zu den römischen. Es bleibt der Rest des Pantheons auf der oben angeführten Tabelle zur Verfügung. Da aber nicht der leiseste Anhalt vorhanden ist, wem der Tempel wohl zuzuweisen sein könnte, so bleibt das vorläufig dahingestellt.<sup>1</sup>

Einen kleinen Schritt<sup>2</sup> weiter gelangen wir noch, wenn wir die Tempel nach der Nissenschen Theorie behandeln. Freilich die Namen der Götter werden wir nicht herausrechnen können; und besonders hier in unserm Falle, wo wir weder Namen noch Feste kennen, wird das Ergebnis ein besonders dürftiges sein. Aber es wird schon ein nicht zu unterschätzender Beweis für die Richtigkeit unserer Untersuchungen sein, wenn unser Resultat nicht den archäologischen Zeitansätzen für die Gründungszeit der Tempel widerspricht, sondern sie vielmehr bestätigt. Die Unterlagen entnehmen wir dem Werke P. u. K's<sup>3</sup> unter Beibehaltung der bisher üblichen Bezeichnungen.

Die Pohlhöhe der Tempel ist nach der der Generalstabkarte zugrundegelegten Berechnung:

$\phi C$  40° 25' 30" n. Br.<sup>4</sup>

$\phi B$  } 40° 25' 10" n. Br.

$\phi P$  }

$\phi R$  40° 25' 20" n. Br.

Die berechnete Deklination beträgt für 1892 9° 11' westl. mit einer jährl. Abn. v. 5, 5'.

Die Orientation der Tempelaxen ist demnach: (1) Ceres-tempel, 265 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; (2) Basilica, 270 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; (3) Poseidontempel, 273 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; (4) Röm. Tempel, 355°.

Setzt man den Meridian von Rom (Monte Mario)=0, so ist die östliche Länge des Cerest. 2° 33' 15", der beiden anderen 2° 33' 10", des röm. 2° 33' 12".

Vergleicht man die Richtung der Orientierungslinien mit den anderen gr. Tempeln in Sicilien und Unter-Italien, so ergibt

<sup>1</sup>Garrucci, *Mon. dell' It.* II. 180. 24. ergänzt QVI(rinus): sollte das nicht stehen für QVIN(quennales)?

<sup>2</sup>Dieser Teil der Arbeit ruht auf: Nissen *Templum* (1869); *Rh. Mus.* XXVIII, p. 513 (I), XXIX, p. 369 (II), XL, p. 38. 329. (480) (III), (IV), XLII, p. 28 (V) und *Orientation* I. 1907.

<sup>3</sup>Pp. 188 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Die Werte auf der Karte sind bis 2" genau!

sich folgendes; natürlich unter Zulassung einer Differenz von 1–2°: zu 1. Akragas, sog. Concordientempel, Herculestempel mit Altar; zu 2. B. C. D. F in Selinus; zu 3. die Tav. Pal. in Metapont, Olympeion, Apollonion in Syracus, das *kleine Megaron* A. O. G. E. in Selinus.

Von grösserem Interesse ist aber die Orientierungslinien der Tempel von Hellas damit zu vergleichen.

Zu 1., Athen, Erechtheion, 264°; Olympia, Heraion, 267½°; Delos, Apollotempel, 264¾°; Delos, Letoon, 264¾°; zu 2., nichts; zu 3., Altar des Heraion (Ol.); zu 4., nur in Italien (Rom, Bogen des Septimius Severus 356°).<sup>1</sup>

Man sieht also, es kommt fast nur für den Cerestempel bei dem letzten Vergleich etwas heraus.

Vorausgesetzt wird ferner die von Nissen bewiesene Tatsache, dass der Sonnenaufgang am Gründungstage mit der Tempelaxe zusammenfällt, beziehungsweise mit der jedesmaligen Festfeier.

Die Berechnung der Tempelgründungstage wäre hiernach eine kleine Aufgabe, wenn die Natur die Sache nicht complicierter machen würde. Der Horizont von Paestum ist nämlich nach Osten nicht eben, und der scheinbare Winkel, unter dem die ersten Sonnenstrahlen sichtbar werden ein ganz bedeutender.

Trägt man mit Hilfe eines genauen Winkelmessers die Richtung der Tempelaxen auf durchsichtigem Papier auf und schiebt dieses so über die Karte, dass die entsprechenden Axen mit den Tempeln zusammen fallen, und orientiert richtig, so dass N = 180° ist, so findet man, dass sämtliche Axen auf einen Appenin-ausläufer (Mte. Soprano) treffen, der in etwa 1100 m. Höhe flachkreisbögig das Gesichtsfeld abschliesst.

A<sub>0</sub> in 7, 5 km. Abstand auf cr. 1040 m. Höhe<sup>2</sup>

A<sub>B</sub> in 9, 0 km. Abstand auf cr. 1050 m. Höhe

A<sub>F</sub> in 12, 8 km. Abstand auf cr. 1000 m. Höhe<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rh. Mus.* XXVIII, p. 554.

<sup>2</sup> Dass seit Gründung der Tempel die Berge um ein gutes Stück kleiner geworden sind, ist hier ausser Acht gelassen worden; es hat keinen Zweck, wenn man mit Bruchteilen einer Sekunde rechnet, und davon überzeugt ist, dass die Minuten nicht genau sind. Die Abnahme beträgt aber jedenfalls mehr als 1, o. m. für das Jahrtausend.

<sup>3</sup> Die Richtung der Axe fällt gerade in die Passhöhe des Weges von Capaccio-Rocca d'Aspide (Pino di Vesole); der etwa 100 m höhere Mte. Balvari (1108 m) verdeckt den

Es ergibt sich daraus die scheinbare Höhe der Sonne:

$$\begin{aligned}h_c &= 7^\circ 53' 41'' \\h_B &= 6^\circ 39' 16'' \\h_F &= 4^\circ 28' 1,8''\end{aligned}$$

Der Sonnendurchmesser wird  $32''$  in Rechnung gestellt. Die Refraction mit den entsprechenden Werten nach den Tafeln von Vega

$$\text{zu } 6' 34,4'' : 7' 40'' : 10' 43,3''$$

Die danach berichtigte Höhe:

$$\begin{aligned}h_c &= 7^\circ 47' 7'' \\h_B &= 6^\circ 31' 36'' \\h_F &= 4^\circ 17' 19''\end{aligned}$$

Aus dem Azimut der Orientierungslinien schliesst man sofort, dass die Gründungstage und Feste in die Zeit der Aequinoctien oder nahe dazu fallen. Die Deklination des Sonnenmittelpunktes ergibt sich zu

$$\begin{aligned}d_c &= +8^\circ 22' 36'' \\d_B &= +3^\circ 23' 28'' \\d_F &= -0^\circ 20' 1''\end{aligned}$$

Für  $\epsilon = 500 = 23^\circ 46' 12''$  in die weitere Rechnung eingesetzt gibt die Länge der Sonne zu:

$$\begin{aligned}l_{c1} &= 20^\circ 59' 20'' & l_{c2} &= 159^\circ 0' 40'' \\l_{B1} &= 8^\circ 27' 15'' & l_{B2} &= 171^\circ 32' 45'' \\l_{F1} &= 0^\circ 50'' & l_{F2} &= 179^\circ 10''\end{aligned}$$

Diesen Werten entsprechen nach dem Nautical Almanac für das Jahr 1905, folgende Tage:

$$\begin{aligned}d_{c1} &= \text{April 11 oder 12} & d_{c2} &= \text{September 1. od. 2} \\d_{B1} &= \text{März 29} & d_{B2} &= \text{September 14} \\d_{F1} &= \text{März 21} & d_{F2} &= \text{September 22}\end{aligned}$$

Welchem Kalender oder welchem Zeitrechnungssystem diese Tage entsprechen, ist völlig gleichgültig.

Aufgang der Sonne. Herr Dr. Neugebauer vom astr. Recheninstitut machte mich angesichts dieser Tatsache darauf aufmerksam, dass man vermuten könne, der Tempel sei a priori nach einem möglichst frühen Sonnenaufgange orientiert worden. Allein im Vergleich zu den anderen Tempeln ist die Differenz nicht sehr gross, Da wie wir später sehen werden, die Feste ziemlich zusammen fallen, kann man von der weiteren Verfolgung dieses Einwandes Abstand nehmen.

<sup>1</sup>Nach den Neugebauer'schen Tafeln: *Veröffl. d. astr. R. Inst.*, N. 25. *Abgek. T. der Sonne u. d. gr. Pl.* 1904, No. 27. *Abgek. T. d. Mondes*, 1905.

Zunächst ist die Fragestellung die, welches Datum kommt überhaupt in Betracht, denn eins kann nur sein, also entweder Frühling oder Herbst. Leider tappen wir hier fast völlig im Dunkeln.

Für Athene müssen wir von vornherein darauf verzichten. Es ist für Italien kein datiertes Fest bekannt. Auf den griechischen Kalender können wir uns zwar beziehen, und es läge nahe an die Panathenäen zu denken; allein dies fällt etwa in den Juli (Nilsson *Gr. Feste*, pp. 84 ff.).

Für Poseidon weist uns unsere Untersuchung zurück nach Sybaris, und von hier nach Trözen;<sup>1</sup> die Anfänge des Cultes selbst nach Böotien und Lakonien.<sup>2</sup> In Lakonien ebenso wie in Kos und Kalymnia tritt der Monatsname Γελαϊστος auf, der in der Trözenischen Tribus Γελαϊστία wiederkehrt.

Ferner wird auf Euboia, in Lakonien, und in Trözen, Geraistos verehrt, der mit Poseidon-Geraistos identisch ist.<sup>3</sup> Der spartanische Monatsname Γελαϊστος ist aber dem att. Elaphobolion gleich zu setzen; wir geben also, da der Elaphobolion dem März/April entspricht, dem Frühlingsdatum<sup>4</sup> den Vorzug. Unter den Mondphasen käme wohl nur der Vollmond in Betracht, entsprechend anderen grossen Festfeiern; soviel ich weiss ist darüber nichts überliefert.

Vorausgesetzt, dass die Basilica ein Tempel der Demeter war, wird die Festzeit festgelegt auf den Vollmond des betreffenden Monats; wir können das ohne weiteres voraussetzen, wofern der Schluss von dem grossen eleusinischen Fest auf andere Demeterfeste zulässig ist, in dieser frühen Zeit.

Ueber den Kult der Demeter im Verhältniss zu den beiden vorherbesprochenen, sind wir zwar besser unterrichtet, aber das erschwert wiederum die Beurteilung umsomehr, als wir uns mit keinen zureichenden Gründen für das eine oder andere Fest entscheiden können.

Aber das ist zunächst nicht das entscheidende. Es kommt zunächst darauf an, von wo der Kult eingeführt wurde. Setzen

<sup>1</sup>Solin, a. o. O.

<sup>2</sup>Nilsson, pp. 64 ff., 68, u. 82; Sam Wide *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Wide, pp. 43 f., cf. dort die näheren Ausführungen.

<sup>4</sup>Herrmann *G. Alt.*, p. 464. 24, datiert die Poseidonien auf dem Vorsommer. Kommt also zu einem Ergebnis, das hinsichtlich der Jahreszeit mit dem unsrigen zusammenfällt. (Vergl. dazu A. Mommsen, *Chronologie* (1883), p. 22, Anm.)

wir den einfachsten Fall als tatsächlich voraus, so ist der Kult von Sybaris hergekommen. Er ist dort nicht bezeugt, muss dort aber doch wohl ausgeübt worden sein. Von Sybaris führt uns der Weg nach Lakonien, wo die Verehrung einer Göttin Eleusinia<sup>1</sup> bezeugt ist, die wesensgleich mit den grossen Göttinnen von Eleusis gewesen ist. Von den Demeterfesten sind die Thesmophorien die verbreitetsten. Das Fest ist fest an die Aussaat geknüpft (Syrakus, Diod. 5. 4; Athen, 9–13 Pyanepsion, Stengel *Gr. Ka.*, p. 203).

Die Eleusinien wurden am 16–25 Boedromion (I. X) gefeiert. Ausnahmen bilden Theben und Delos, wo die Thesmophorien in den Metageitnion fallen.

Wir haben bisher die Basilica als Demetertempel bezeichnet, um die Darstellung nicht zu sehr auf das Gebiet vager Vermutungen zu bringen. Hier aber wird die Frage unabweisbar, wenn andererseits der Kult nicht von Sybaris eingeführt ist, wo kommt er dann her, und wie verhält sich dazu Kore-Persephone?<sup>2</sup> Schon Lenormant vermutete, dass die Basilica der Persephone und Kore geweiht war.

Dann ist das zweite möglich, dass der Kult aus Sicilien eingeführt war, denn die sicilischen Colonien sind doch ebenso alt als die Unteritaliens. Die Feste der Kore-Persephone scheinen teils in den Frühling (Anthesphoria, Poll. 1. 37) teils in den Herbst (Diod. 5. 4 und Phot. s. v. Στήνια) gefallen zu sein.<sup>3</sup> Die weitere Untersuchung scheitert an dem Fehlen jeglicher Anhaltspunkte. Das einzige beweiskräftige Moment, das gegen die zweite Vermutung spricht, ist der archäologische Befund. Wir können uns also auch hier für das Herbst-Datum entscheiden.

Dass das Fest vor die grossen Eleusinien in Attica fiel, hat vielleicht seinen Grund darin, dass bei einem Zusammenfall beider Feste das der Posidoniaten notwendigerweise durch die Abreise vieler Festteilnehmer dürftig ausfallen musste; um dies zu verhindern fand das heimatliche Fest vorher statt. Auf Grund dieser Berechnungen und Voraussetzungen sind wir jetzt in der Lage die Gründungstage angeben zu können, und zwar für den Poseidon-

<sup>1</sup> Nilsson, p. 334; Wide, pp. 175, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Nilsson, pp. 354 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Beachtenswert ist auch das, was Strabo 6. 256 über Hipponium sagt. Nil., p. 357, Anm.

tempel der 29. März, 418 v. Chr.,<sup>1</sup> und für den Demeter-Koretempel. 19. September, 548 v. Chr. (jul.). Dazu ist folgendes zu bemerken. Der archäologische Ansatz ist für den Poseidontempel das 5. Jahrhundert, für die beiden anderen das 6. Da weiter keine Anhaltspunkte vorliegen, so hat man zunächst nach Massgabe des Voraufgegangenen für die entsprechenden beiden Jahrhunderte und Monate die zugehörigen Mondphasen zu berechnen. Dies geschieht am bequemsten in Tabellenform nach dem Compendium von Fleischhauer.<sup>2</sup> Nun verwandelt man das Datum der Sonnenlänge aus dem Nautical Almanac in ein julianisches, und sieht jetzt sofort, dass von den 100 möglichen Jahren etwa 10–12 übrig bleiben, in die das Gründungsjahr des Tempels fallen kann.<sup>3</sup> Nun berechnet man aus diesen übrigbleibenden Daten wiederum die Sonnenlänge. (Man braucht freilich sich um das aus dem N. A. gewonnene Datum nicht weiter zu bekümmern, und dafür aus jedem Datum der Mondphase die Sonnenlänge berechnen; das kostet aber Zeit, und man wird bald gewahr, dass das Datum, welches überhaupt in Betracht kommt, das des N. A. ist, natürlich julianisch ausgedrückt.)

Diese neu berechneten Sonnenlängen werden mehr oder weniger von dem durch die Beobachtung der Tempelaxe gewonnenen abweichen, eine oder zwei aber sind jedenfalls darunter, die der gesuchten entsprechen, und diese entsprechen den Gründungsjahren der Tempel. Man kann nun wiederum die Phasen des Kompendiums nach den Neugebauerschen Tafeln der Sicherheit wegen noch einmal nachprüfen; man erhält dadurch die Mondphase auf 0, 2 d. genau. Insbesondere ist für den vorliegenden Fall noch das nachzutragen.

1. Für den Poseidontempel: Sonnenlänge aus Beob. berechnet, 0°, 83: berechnet nach den Tafeln,—417 v. Chr., März 29, 0°, 82. Vollm.+0, 22 d nach März 29.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Koldewey *loc. cit.* setzt den Tempel von Segesta, der etwas jünger ist, auf 420–430 an; ich möchte lieber der Ansicht Holms folgen, *Gesch. Sic.* I. 304, der den Tempel dem 4. Jahrhundert zuweist, also etwa 390–380. Das stimmt sehr gut mit unserem Ergebnis.

<sup>2</sup>*Kalendercompendium*, 1884.

<sup>3</sup>Denn mit der Sonnenlänge allein, die, wie die Neugebauerschen Tafeln lehren, in 4-jährigen Perioden schwankt, ist natürlich nichts anzufangen. Die Möglichkeit, dass ein Jahr das Gründungsjahr ist, tritt fast jedes 2. oder 3. Jahr ein. Erst der Mond bewirkt die Ausschaltung.

<sup>4</sup>Das astronomische Jahr ist um 1 kleiner, als das bürgerliche!



2. Demeter-Koretempel:  $171^{\circ}$ , 55–547 v. Chr., September 19,  $171^{\circ}$ , 83. Vollm. + 0, 6 d nach September 29. Der Wert für den Poseidontempel ist der einzige in dem Jahrhundert, der dem beobachteten am nächsten kommt. Vom Demetertempel gilt dasselbe wie vom Poseidontempel. Wichtig ist, dass das Ergebnis der Berechnung mit dem archäologischen Ansatz übereinstimmt. Das Datum selbst ist Nebensache, da es sich auf einen "anticipierten" Kalender bezieht. Einen Beweis, dass die Benennung der Tempel richtig ist, liefert die Rechnung nicht, und kann sie auch nicht liefern (vgl. Nissen a. a. O. *Rh. Mus.*), aber sie widerspricht jener auch nicht.

Für den römischen Tempel ist Folgendes zu bemerken. Da das Aufgangsazimut vom Untergangsazimut nur  $10^{\circ}$  entfernt ist, so kommen Sonne, Mond, Planeten nicht in Betracht, und der Tempel ist, wenn überhaupt, nach einem Fixstern orientiert, der erst wenige Jahre vorher für Paestum überhaupt sichtbar geworden war. Die Orientierungslinie trifft in einer Entfernung von 18, 2 km auf die 688 m hohe Pta. la Carpinara. Der Gesichtswinkel beträgt demnach  $2^{\circ} 9' 53, 5''$ ; unter Berücksichtigung der Refraction ist die berechnete Deklination des Sternes  $47^{\circ} 27' 25''$ . Welcher Stern hat demnach im Gründungsjahre diese Deklination gehabt? oder giebt es überhaupt einen? Es ist  $\beta$  Crucis, 1. 7 Grösse. Es ergibt sich, dass der Stern 272 v. Chr. (astr.) eine Deklination von  $47^{\circ} 4' 8''$  gehabt hat. Ein Ergebnis, das mit dem aus dem Azimut des Tempels berechneten sehr gut übereinstimmt, denn die Abweichung beträgt nur  $0, 39^{\circ}$ . Anders ausgedrückt heisst das: Das Gründungsjahr des Tempels fällt in das Gründungsjahr der Colonie, oder aber nicht viel später, auf alle Fälle aber in das dritte Jahrhundert. Es lässt sich danach vermuten, dass der Tempel ein Jupitertempel war, denn die anderen Götter scheiden wohl aus, und das würde der Ergänzung Garrucci's QVI(rinus) nicht widersprechen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Das findet man natürlich erst nach mehreren Fehlschlägen. Die Rechnung wurde für  $\alpha$  Centauri u.  $\eta$  Argus ebenfalls ausgeführt; indessen ohne Erfolg. Herr Dr. Neugebauer hatte die Güte, die Ergebnisse zu kontrollieren. Die Berechnung geht vor sich nach den Praecessionsgleichungen bei Oppolzer *Bahnbest. der Kom.*<sup>2</sup> (1882) I, p. 216.

## AN ARCHAIC BOEOTIAN INSCRIPTION

BY CARL DARLING BUCK

The following inscription is one of those which were brought to light by the French excavation of the temple of Ptoon Apollo in 1885-86, but has not been officially published hitherto. Its discoverer, M. Maurice Holleaux, now director of the French School at Athens, showed it privately to a number of friends, one of whom M. Bréal published, in the *Mém. Soc. Ling.* VII (1892), p. 448, his own reading of the text as follows: *καλὸν ἀγαλμα φάνακτι φοίδας. Ποίεσε μ' Ἐχέστροτος. Αὐτὰρ ἐπεμψαν δὲ Πτοίεφι. Τὸς τὸν, φάναξ, φεφύλαξο, δίδου ὀαρτάν.* It was the last word, thought to be equivalent to *ἐορτήν*, which attracted Bréal's interest. But in the next volume of the *Mémoires* (VIII, pp. 180 ff.) Holleaux declares the reading *ὀαρτάν* impossible, and comments on the conclusion of the inscription as follows:

*δίδου* (ou peut-être *δίδοι*?) *δ' ὀρτάν*. La présence de la conjonction *δέ* après *δίδου* est indispensable. Quant au mot *ὀρτάν*, il ne peut guère être autre chose que *ἀρετάν*, soit qu'il y ait syncope, soit que par mégarde on ait omit l' *ε*. Il faut interpréter ici *ἀρ(ε)τάν* non par "bravoure" ou "vertu," mais plutôt par "prospérité" ou "force." Mon vénéré maître M. Weil, qui a bien voulu lire et étudier l'inscription, m'a indiqué deux rapprochements intéressants. A la fin des deux hymnes homériques XV et XX (ainsi qu'à la fin de l'hymne I de Callimaque), on lit: *δίδου δ' ἀρετήν τε καὶ δάβων*. Il semble donc que nous retrouvions dans notre texte une formule d'un usage assez fréquent, mais abrégée ici par la suppression des mots: *τε καὶ δάβων*. En résumé, je pense qu'il faut traduire: "Protège-les, ô roi, et donne-leur la prospérité (ou la force)."

In limiting his comments to the last line, Holleaux stated that several of his readings differed from those proposed by Bréal, but that the publication of the inscription was reserved for the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* and would be given in its next number. The promised publication failed to appear, however, and, while the interesting form *καλόν*, which settled at once a dispute over the source of *καλός*, has long since found its way into

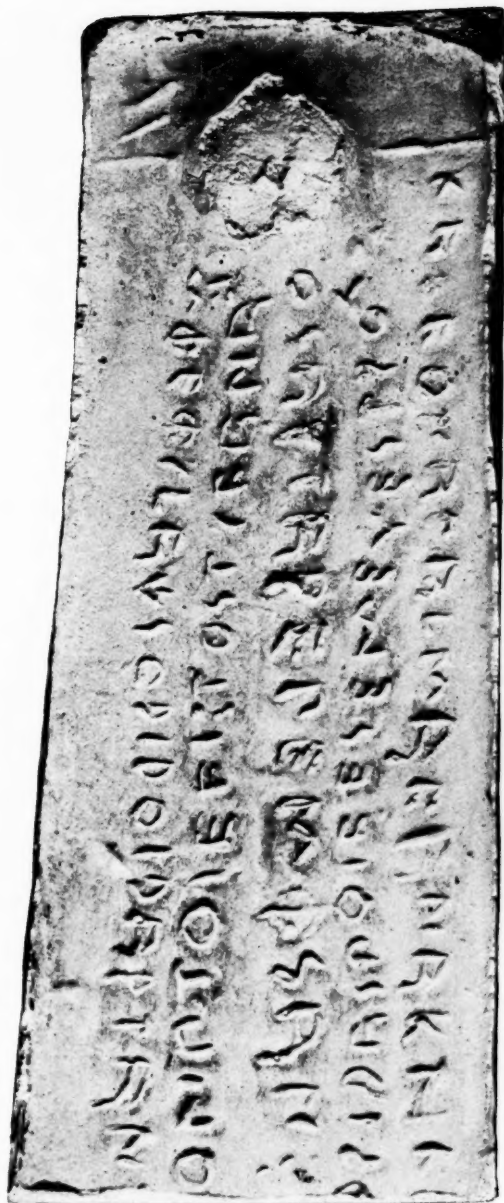
our handbooks, the inscription as a whole has remained unavailable to scholars. It was obvious that something was radically wrong with Bréal's reading. The unaugmented *ποίτσει* pointed clearly to verse, and the hexameter started off well, but was soon wrecked. Furthermore, the abrupt change to the plural *ἔπεμψαν* and *τός*, with nothing in the preceding to which they could refer, was unintelligible, as were also, in the context, the forms *φοίδας* and *δν*. But it was useless, as well as improper, to attempt anything with the text before its official publication with the necessary epigraphical data.

Wishing, if possible, to make use of the inscription in a forthcoming work on the Greek dialects, I recently made inquiries, through the American School at Athens, regarding the prospect of publication. M. Holleaux informed our secretary, Mr. Caskey, that he had not the leisure to publish it, and suggested that a copy and squeeze be made for me. Mr. Stais, of the National Museum, in which the inscription now lies, granted me permission to publish it, since M. Holleaux had given up the idea of doing so. Mr. Caskey has very kindly furnished the epigraphical data, with a copy, pencil rubbings, and an excellent plaster impression which Mr. Stais had made. I give first the description and a photograph made from the plaster impression,<sup>1</sup> the negative being reversed to restore the original relations. (See opposite p. 78.)

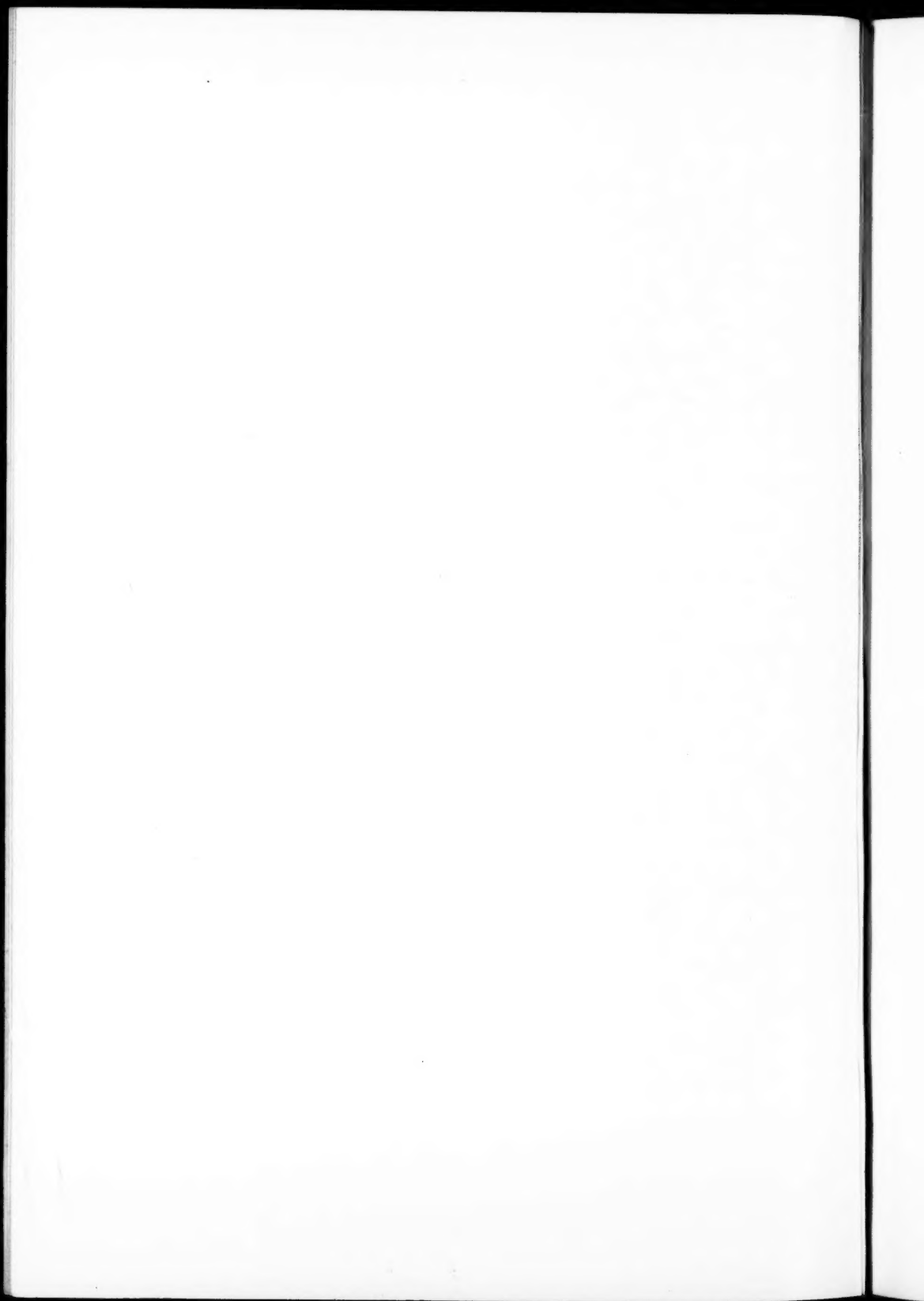
It is evident at a glance that the inscription is incomplete, the tile being broken at the bottom. Bréal's impossible text was due to the failure to recognize this fact, which was not pointed out by Holleaux and must have been overlooked by him when he assumed (see above) that the last words were an *abridgment* of the phrase used in the Homeric hymns. It is now possible, even if we do not effect a complete restoration, to read what is extant without violence to the demands of form, meter, or sense. The meter is plainly hexameter, and by a process of elimination we

<sup>1</sup>The impression, Mr. Caskey writes, is in most cases clearer than the original, though imperfect in a few letters, notably in the third letter (λ) of the first line, which is sufficiently clear in the original. Some few letters have not come out quite as clearly in the photograph as they appear in the impression. But for the most part it is a faithful reproduction. At the end of line 1 we must not mistake for a vertical what is only a portion of the line caused by the shadow of the edge. No part of the letter following ρ is actually preserved.





Tile of reddish clay, face painted black. Paint much worn away. Broken at bottom. Length .175 m. Width at top .06 m., at bottom .072 m. Thickness .025 m.



Or it may designate the gens or phratry to which 'Εχέστροτος (a Boeotian; note -στροτος = -στρατος) belonged. Cf., e. g., Πausanίας Διογένους 'Ιαμίδης, Κάλλιτος 'Αντία Κλυτιάδης of Elis, Dittenberger *Sylloge* 612. 12, 13. As but few of the Boeotian gentes and phratries are known to us, any attempt at restoration along this line is useless. For a patronymic one may think of various possibilities, e. g., 'Αρμοσίδας, which occurs in Rhodes (as a name, not as a patronymic), Δαμοσίδας (cf. Δαμόσιος), Εὔδοσίδας (cf. Εὔδοτος, Εὔδοσία), etc. But it should be stated here that the incomplete letter at the beginning of line 1 is not certainly an ο. On the impression it looks to me rather more like a portion of ρ formed like the ρ in ἀρτάν, line 5. And, since violations of the meter in proper names are by no means unknown in inscriptional verse (cf. Allen *Greek Versification in Inscriptions*, pp. 39, 75 ff.), a name in -ρσίδας, such as, e. g., Εὐθαρσίδας (cf. Εὐθάρσης), Εὐχερσίδας (cf. Χέρσις, Χερσίας, Εὐχειρ), must be admitted as within the range of possibilities. But on the whole I incline to -οσίδας.

In the third verse stood the subject of ἔπεμφσαν, the names of the donors. The word of which the final ον remains may be a noun in apposition to, or an adjective in agreement with, ἀγαλμα understood. The possibilities are too numerous to be worth mention.

The fourth verse is to be completed to accord with the verse-ending to which Weil called attention (see above). The τός (so to be transcribed, later Boeot. τώς not τός) refers, of course, to the lost subject of ἔπεμφσαν. φεφύλαχσο = Hom. πεφύλαξο, with assimilation of aspirates, as in Cret. θιθέμενος = τιθέμενος, Locr., El. θέθμιον = τέθμιον (Att. θέσμιον), Arc. φαρθένος = παρθένος, Boeot. Φίθων = Πίθων, etc. The omission of ε in ἀρτάν I take to be merely the engraver's blunder. As regards the question of δίδου or δίδου, we must certainly choose the latter. It is true that for the last letter the copy, rubbing, and, much less clearly, the impression, show what looks like a short stroke leading out of the vertical on the right. But this must be either a defect in the tile or a slip of the engraver. In the υ of τύ and that of φεφύλαξο the main stroke turns to the right, while the short stroke is added



to the left (see the photograph). Furthermore, and this is decisive, *δίδου* with *ου* for the "spurious diphthong" is out of the question for Boeotian of any period, or, at the time of this inscription, for any dialect except Corinthian. The proper reading is *δίδοι*, which occurs in Pindar, in another Boeotian, and in a Corinthian inscription, and which, with other imperative forms of like character, has been explained by Wright *Harvard Studies* VII, pp. 85 ff., and by Brugmann *Idg. Forsch.* XV, p. 128, *Kurze Grammatik*, p. 559.

Our reading of the whole, with the suggested restorations, is then as follows:

Καλφὸν ἀγαλμα φάνακτι ς[εκαβόλοι Ἀπό(λ)λῶνι.  
 ? Δαμ]οσίδας ποίρῃσε μ' Ἐχέστροτος· αὐτὰρ ἔπεμψαν  
 [ - - - - - ]ον Πτοῖῃσι.  
 τὸς τὸν, φάναχς, φεφύλαχσο, δίδοι δ' ἀρ(ε)τάν[τε καὶ ὀλβον.]

This is one of the very earliest Boeotian inscriptions. The letters are as archaic as, for example, those of *IG.* VII. 2729, which Dittenberger ascribes to the early sixth century, and the ς is preserved uniformly, while *IG.* VII. 2729 has *ἐποίρῃσε* but Πτοῖῃσι.

## NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

### ON THUCYDIDES II. 15. 4

τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἣ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δὲ τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστί, καὶ τὰ ἕξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἰδρύνται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον, κ. τ. λ.

Without involving myself in the interminable topographical controversy I wish to propose what seems to me the necessary construction of the last three lines as they stand. All difficulties may of course be circumvented by the assumption of a considerable *lacuna* which it is an easy exercise in Greek prose composition to fill up. But as there is practically no variation in the manuscript readings (I do not know Professor Capps's authority for the reading τὰ δὲ ἕξω from which he argues in *Class. Phil.*, Vol. II, pp. 40, 41) and no emendation has won general acceptance, we are bound to retain the text if possible. It becomes not only possible but very easy if we take the first καὶ as idiomatically balancing and anticipating the second. (Cf. Plato *Protag.* 347 A, and examples in Kühner-Gerth § 524. 2.)

The commonly accepted device of taking καὶ ἄλλων as opposed to Athena "understood" from τῇ θεῷ three lines, four clauses, and two sentences back is, I think, quite inadmissible. No good parallel is cited for so violent a retroactive "understanding." The suggestion of Whibley (*Class. Review* XIV. 275) that the antithesis of Athena and τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν is familiar in Athenian legal terminology overlooks the considerable difference between ἄλλων θεῶν and τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. If, however, we take the first καὶ as balancing and anticipating the second, and note the true emphasis and order of the words all becomes clear. Thucydides is determining the site of the ancient city by the position of the ἱερὰ. The question of the absolute validity of this method does not concern us. He says in substance: "Formerly the present Acropolis was the city—and the region beneath it southward chiefly. A confirmation of this are the ἱερὰ—as well those of divers [lit. "other"] deities on the Acropolis itself, as also [more particularly] those outside to wit:"—etc.

The key-word ἱερὰ is placed first and then divided by what is in effect a loose partitive apposition into two categories. The first category seemed to Thucydides either more self-evident or perhaps less significant for his purpose than the second. He therefore merely mentions it without pausing

to enumerate the divinities of the Acropolis, and warns us of the more explicit clause to come by the anticipatory *καί*. This is a little obscured by the pregnant brevity of the whole and the position of *καί*. There was no real reason for *contrasting* the shrines of the Acropolis with those outside. But when *τὰ γὰρ ἱερά* had been placed first there was no other good place for *καί*, which besides has an affinity for *ἄλλος*. The word *ἱερά* practically does double duty standing at once for all the *ἱερά* and those on the Acropolis. And the clause *καὶ τὰ ἔξω* condenses the two statements that the *ἔξω ἱερά* are the second half of the *τεκμήριον* and that they are situated *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος*. Thucydides might have written with painful Isocratean explicitness something like: *τῶν γὰρ ἀρχαίων ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ . . . εἰ καὶ ἔξω . . . πρὸς τοῦτο γοῦν τὸ μέρος*, etc. But it is not his way. An explicit statement that the older *ἱερά* are either found on the Acropolis itself or if outside are toward the Acropolis, or toward the south, or toward that part of the (modern) city constituted by the Acropolis and the region under it toward the south—this would have required thrice as many words as he has employed. He is indifferent to smooth grammatical and logical concinnity. So Miss Harrison commenting on this very passage (*Primitive Athens*, p. 66) could have written "Readers . . . might take and have taken." But she prefers to write: "Readers . . . might and have taken"—and as she is not writing Greek we know what she means.

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#### SOME CLASSICAL QUOTATIONS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES

Manitius in making up his list of classical references (see *Philologus*, Nos. 47–53 *passim*) has apparently neglected the literatures of the Scandinavian countries. I have noted a few Latin quotations from that field, assuming that they may prove to be of some interest in marking how far classical interests extended in the Middle Ages.

Bioðrek Munk (Theodoricus Monachus), evidently a monk of Trondhjem, Norway, wrote in Latin a history of his native land about 1160 (see Langebek *Script. Rer. Danicarum* V, pp. 312–41). This man quotes several Latin writers, probably using books that were to be found in the monastery or in the cathedral of his native town. He uses the following passages of Lucan: 1. 92, 93 (p. 315 and again p. 323), 1. 183 (p. 332, partly misquoted), 1. 337 (p. 334), 1. 666–69 (p. 336), 7. 552–54 and 556 (p. 341), 7. 812–15 (p. 327). He also quotes Stat. *Theb.* 1. 151 as belonging to Lucan.

From Horace he gets *Epode* 1. 1 (p. 323) and *Epist.* 1. 2. 69, 70 (p. 338), the latter incorrectly and without naming the author. A quotation attributed to Vergil is identified by Suhm as coming from Proba's cento

of Vergil (Lang., p. 336). Ovid *Met.* 1. 128-31 is introduced with the phrase: *ut videatur notasse satyricus* (p. 341).

Theodoricus also employs Pliny the Elder three times. He cites *Plinius Secundus Naturalis historiae* (scriptor) as a source of information regarding Charybdis (p. 325, the reference may be to *N. H.* 3. 14). On p. 327 he quotes a sentence from the same work regarding the deterioration of the human race (see *N. H.* 7. 16). Again (p. 334), in writing of Mithradates, he cites from Pliny: "*De hoc Rege scribit Plinius secundus his verbis: Mithridates, inquit, rex Ponti, homo potentissimus et ditissimus annis XL bellum protraxit nobiscum variis eventibus, XXII gentium Rex totidem linguis jura dixit pro concione singulos sine interprete affatus.*" Here the writer is evidently using some intermediate source, for the end of the alleged quotation is all that is to be found in Pliny (see *N. H.* 25. 3).

There is finally a reference to Plato reminiscent of some lines in the *Timaeus* (see *Tim.* 22 C, and cf. *Laws* 677b): "*Hanc vicissitudinem seculorum exustionis et eluvionis inducit Plato, dicens: expletis quindecim millibus annorum eas alternatim accidere, omneque humanum genus interire, praeter paucissimos qui aliquo casu evadant unde postea reparentur homines: hoc semper exitisse et semper futurum esse.*" In discussing this doctrine he uses, curiously enough, some Greek phrases, a bit of pedantry somewhat unusual for the remote region from which this work comes. I have not been able to find his immediate source.

The collection (Langebek) from which I have been quoting also contains some other documents which give proof of classical activities in the North. An *Anonymus de Profectione in Terram Sanctam* tells of a pilgrimage undertaken from Norway about 1190. The writer quotes Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 90, 91 in his preface (V, p. 342), and later (p. 347) reports a preacher as quoting Juvenal: *juxta illud poeticum proverbium "quod non dant procures dabit histrio"* (cf. *Sat.* 7. 90). Ovid *Rem. am.* 2 occurs in the Life of Gunner of Viborg (Lang. V. 579), and Ov. *Trist.* 9. 5, 6 is slightly misquoted in a letter of Wilhelm the abbot (Lang. VI. 74 about the year 1192). *Anth. Lat.* 256 (Riese) is quoted in the *Encomium Emmae Reg.* (II. 492) in the form that Donatus' *Vita Vergilii* employs:

Nocte pluit tota redeunt spectacula mane  
Divisum imperium cum Jove Caesar habet.

The lines were frequently used in the Middle Ages (see Manitius, *Phil.* 51, p. 158) but not in this form. Our author attributes the distich to Vergil.

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NOTE ON EURIPIDES *ALCESTIS* 290 FF.

καίτοι σ' ὁ φύσας χῆ τεκοῦσα προῖδσαν,  
καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς καθανεῖν ἦκον βίον,  
καλῶς δὲ σῶσαι παῖδα κεύκλεως θανεῖν.

The lamented Dr. Hayley rightly called this "a *locus desperatissimus*." Those who would see briefly summarized the views held by scholars on this passage should consult his judicious note. I must dissent, however, from his own conclusion that "the *sense* doubtless was 'though it was highly fitting (καλῶς ἦκον) for them to depart from life,' and that καθανεῖν is either corrupt or a gloss which has displaced some verb governing βίον." That καθανεῖν is sound is suggested by the following θανεῖν, it being common in Euripides as elsewhere to let the simple verb repeat the compound. As for βίον, it is conceivable that it may depend directly on καθανεῖν felt as the equivalent of ἐξελθεῖν; or it may be defended by referring to Hdt. vii. 157 σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε γὰρ ἦκευς μεγάλης, where the editors, following Reiske, generally read ἦκευς μεγάλως, a construction dubious at best. The real difficulty in the passage under consideration is that it ill becomes the heroine Alcestis to suggest that it was "highly fitting" for the parents of Admetus to depart this life; moreover, in v. 284 (παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ σέθεν) where the emphasis lies upon παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν, not upon ὑπὲρ σέθεν) a plain hint occurs of what we may expect: Alcestis volunteers to die, though she may live if she chooses; but Admetus' parents—why, they must die in any event (αὐτοῖς καθανεῖν ἦκον). This is what Admetus very unkindly tells Pheres at 642 ff.:

ἦ τὰρα πάντων διαπρέπεις ἀψυχία,  
ὅς τηλικόσδ' ὦν κἀπὶ τέρμ' ἦκων βίον  
οὐκ ἠθέλησας οὐδ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν  
τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδός, ἀλλὰ τήνδ' εἰάσατε  
γυναικ' ὀθνεῖαν, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρα  
πατέρα τ' ἂν ἐνδίκως ἂν ἠγοίμην μόνην.  
καίτοι καλὸν γ' ἂν τόνδ' ἀγῶν' ἠγωνίσω  
τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδός καθανών, βραχὺς δέ σοι  
πάντως ὁ λοιπὸς ἦν βιώσιμος χρόνος.

Thus suspicion at once arises in regard to the first καλῶς. Because of the words just quoted I had thought of πάντως as probably displaced by καλῶς, by a sort of dittography, as καλῶς stands, and properly stands, at the head of the following verse. I am now convinced that the remedy is simpler, though the resulting sense is the same: for καλῶς, read κάλλως. "and yet your parents have left you in the lurch, though they are at 'the term of life' to die in any case, but nobly save their son and win them a life in dying." Alcestis pointedly suggests that they should make a

virtue of necessity and live on in *fama superstes*. For this use of καὶ ἄλλως compare Plato *Symp.* 173 c, *Rep.* 458 a, 495 b; Homer *Il.* 9. 699; ἄλλως also occurs, as Ar. *Ran.* 1115, Aesch. *Choeph.* 680, etc.

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Despite the ingenuity of Professor Heidel's suggestion, in which, however, the position of καὶ ἄλλως is doubtful, I think the text may be construed if we allow ἦκον to play a double part by slight idiomatic looseness. With καθαίνειν it means that they have reached the natural season of life to die. Compare *Phoenissae* 967:

αὐτὸς δ' ἐν ὥραίῳ γὰρ ἔσταμεν βίον  
θανεῖν ἔτοιμος.

With the second line it means that it well becomes them to save, etc. The repetition of θανεῖν merely gives the a b a order not infrequent in tragedy. It is really a case where, to borrow Professor Gildersleeve's Gallicism "analysis loses its rights." No one who does not stop to analyze stumbles over the passage or is troubled by the false antithesis of the anaphora. Neither Isocrates nor Plato nor Lucretius would have objected to what offends our daintier logical sense, the fact that the repeated καλῶς must be taken in a slightly different way and may be referred ambiguously to ἦκον or σῶσαι.

P. S.

#### ON THE HYPOTHESIS TO ANTIPHON 2 β

Ὁμολογεῖ μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἔχθραν, κτλ. The text will construe, but πρώτην has given trouble as in the previous member of the tetralogy there is no "first enmity." Jernstedt would delete πρώτην and adds αὐτὴν to the ἔχθραν of 1. 3. It is necessary to secure a reading which will cause the hypothesis to state the facts as they occur in the tetralogy and I would suggest ὁμολογεῖ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν ἔχθραν. The text as emended presents the required statement.

The common usage in the hypotheses to express "first . . . secondly" is either πρῶτον . . . δεύτερον, πρῶτον . . . ἔπειτα, or πρῶτον . . . εἶτα as is shown in the hypothesis to Dem. 18, sec. 5; 22, sec. 2; 25, sec. 1; (Andoc.) 4, 1. 8. But there are instances where πρῶτον with the meaning of "first" is used with no correlative following it. In the hypothesis to (Andoc.) 4, 1. 5, there appears τὸν Ἀνδοκίδην πρῶτον παραγράφεται, λέγων where there might have been a correlative intended for πρῶτον but none exists because the writer goes off on another tack. Similarly in Libanius' ὑποθέσεων προοίμιον sec. 6 we find καὶ γὰρ δειλὸς ἦν τὸ πρῶτον and we might reasonably expect a correlative. Finally in the hypothesis to

Dem. 22, sec. 9 there are three examples of the use of *πρῶτον* without a correlative.

It appears then that the use of *πρῶτον* meaning "first" without a correlative can be substantiated, and that fact removes the chief objection to the proposed emendation as there is in the hypothesis in question no word for "secondly." The writer may have intended to use a correlative but it slipped his mind after the explanation in *λέγει γάρ* and he merely added the second argument, prefacing it with *δε καί*. This careless usage is in accord with the general character of the hypotheses and is analogous to the use of *μὲν solitarium*.

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#### NOTE ON DIOGENES LAERTIUS IV. 59

Τοῦτόν φασι καὶ περὶ οἰκονομίαν γλυκύτατα ἐσχηκέναι.

With these words Diogenes introduces the familiar story of how the slaves of the stingy philosopher, Lacydes, found access to his locked cupboard. (See *Class. Phil.*, October, 1908, p. 400.) The words are generally understood as in the Didot Latin version: *aiunt ei in rei familiaris cura lepidissimum aliquid usu venisse*. But the Greek will hardly yield that meaning. Though *γλυκὺς* may be used of a person, *γλυκὺν* is very doubtful Greek for ἡδὺ in the sense of something funny or amusing, and *γλυκύτατα ἐσχηκέναι* is nearly, if not quite, impossible in the sense desired. The true reading is plainly *γλισχρότατα* (adverbial) *ἐσχηκέναι* "was very near." Cf. Plato *Laws* 765 A *φιλοφρόνως ἐσχέκασιν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα*. The following *γάρ*, then, will have its proper force and need not be the *γάρ* that introduces a narrative. This reading is confirmed by the version of the story quoted from Noumenios by Eusebius *Prep. Evang.* xiv. 7. Noumenios begins: *Περὶ δὲ Λακύνδου βούλομαι τι διηγέσασθαι ἡδύ. ἦν μὲν δὴ Λακύνδης ὑπογλισχρότερος καὶ τινα τρόπον ὁ λεγόμενος οἰκονομικός, οὗτος ὁ εὐδοκίμων παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς*. It will be seen further that *οἰκονομικός* in Noumenios corresponds loosely to *περὶ οἰκονομίαν* in Diogenes. Noumenios, however, is thinking of Plato's oligarchical man, *γλίσχρος* καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν φειδόμενος . . . θησαυροποῖς ἀνὴρ, οὗς δὴ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τὸ πλεῆθος. *Rep.* 553 C, 554 B.

PAUL SHOREY



## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians in seinen Reden auf König Helios und die Göttermutter.* Mit einer Uebersetzung der beiden Reden. Von GEORG MAU. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908. Pp. 169. M. 6.

Julian is the first imperial Roman after Julius Caesar whom one may call a man of letters. For Marcus Aurelius communing with himself is no more a literary man than were those emperors who, like Tiberius exploring the pedigree of Hecuba, took to Greek literature as a recreation from the daily routine of crime. Julian lived in a century when, creative genius being out of the question, to be literary was to be a sophist. But that aspect of him, his conformity to all the rules of the sophistic game, is to most people less interesting than his vain effort to give back polytheism to a reluctant world. The superficial phil-Hellene loves to sentimentalize over this failure of Julian's, as though here one saw the last attempt of the banished gods to restore beauty to the earth. But those who know their fourth Christian century are aware that, in spite of his *schwärmerei* for Athens, Julian was no Hellene, and that he was about as well qualified to revive the ethics and aesthetics of the Periclean Greeks as to achieve an Attic lucidity of thought or the charm of the Attic literary manner. He was a convinced and consistent Puritan. Plato could write of the Beautiful with such passion that the Good, however explicitly set up as the highest educational ideal, pales a little by contrast. But Julian, apart from his strong language when he scolds the vicious, always writes like a bishop. Many a bishop might envy him that unswerving strength of conviction for whose sake history ought to have forgiven all his mistakes. What has not been forgiven Julian is his restlessness, the instability of his outward expression, the number of parts into which he flung himself with the intensity of a fanatic, playing in turn military leader, railing cynic, oriental mystic, rhetorician, and Neo-Platonist.

Judging from what he saw about him he decided that Christ had failed to impose morality on the world. It was all to do again, this time by a philosopher, by one who could turn to account all that had been added to the dominant philosophy of his times, all the oriental grafts on Neo-Platonism. And, since Christian doctrine had proved so attractive to the masses, he would not hesitate to adapt certain of its essential features to the combination of religion and philosophy that was to take its place. He had ridiculed Christianity as an oriental cult that could have

no part in Hellenism, yet he turned for allies, not to Athens or the Roman aristocracy, still profoundly pagan, but to the East. Only a mind confused as his would have chosen Iamblichus, the Syrian Neo-Platonist, as the prophet of a religion that was to regenerate mankind, and Maximus the theurgist as the most fitting interpreter of the "divine" Syrian's revelation. For Maximus all writers on Julian have a mortal antipathy, and ascribe to his influence the young emperor's superstitious frenzy. But mystics of Julian's type are born, not made. He was politely avoided by the clearer thinkers among the Neo-Platonists, the serious students of Plato and Aristotle, and left to carry out his mission from Mithras with charlatans, or men like Priscus, the cold and repulsive pedant.

In Mithraism, the religion of the sun-god which in its time swayed hundreds of thousands, and has utterly vanished from the ken of the average man, Julian saw his chance to frame a monotheism that had become indispensable to himself and his contemporaries, and to introduce what had fascinated mankind in the rival religion, a divine mediator. Mithraism, in spite of its strategic errors, such as the exclusion of women from its rites, was a sentimental cult that seemed to the Christians a "satanic plagiarism" peculiarly dangerous to the original, and under Constantius was so persecuted that one was liable to be arrested for gazing at a sunset. The Mithraic conception of the sun as the central symbol of the universe was in harmony with Neo-Platonic doctrine derived from Plato. Julian accordingly set out to unite in Mithras, his chosen god, the functions of those gods of Greece whom a phil-Hellene must have in at all costs. As though men whom Christianity had failed to reform were to be won by a gospel of Apollo and Dionysus purified of all the warm and endearing attributes that had charmed the sensuous Greeks! For the divine simplicity of the promises of Christ, Julian substituted the mystic phantasms of oriental Neo-Platonism, the glad tidings of the transcendental One, the intelligible gods (*νοητοί*), and the intelligent (*νοετοί*), the last an innovation due to Iamblichus, who gave a new vocabulary to Neo-Platonism. By his worship of Mithras and his peculiar syncretism Julian seems to have broken away from Iamblichus. But, these heresies apart, he is only the echo of that far less confused theosophist,<sup>1</sup> and to grasp Julian's meaning, unless one is content with his saving clause *πιστεύεσθω μᾶλλον ἢ δεικνύεσθω*, one must forever be turning to the *Protrepticus* and the *De Mathematica* of Iamblichus, to the *De Mysteriis*, which, if not authentic, at least reflects his views, and to Plotinus and Porphyry.

Mau's monograph is the first systematic attempt to trace in the emperor's two *φυσικοί ὕμνοι* the influence of preceding Neo-Platonists. This is following the excellent example of R. Asmus who has done so

<sup>1</sup> I cannot agree with Geffcken who, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, March, 1908, finds Julian's exposition "leichter und einfacher" than that of Iamblichus.

much to determine the precise character of Julian's Cynicism. The loss of Iamblichus' *Περὶ θεῶν*, which was almost certainly the source of Julian's hastily written hymn to the sun, is a serious hindrance to a precise estimate of the emperor's borrowings, and the lack of a collection of the fragments of Iamblichus was so keenly felt by Mau that he promises an edition at some future date. His method is to expound the hymns section by section, giving in copious footnotes the parallel passages from Julian's predecessors. The notes are restricted to Neo-Platonic illustrations and occasional citations of Plato and Aristotle. Sallust's tract *Περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου*, called by Cumont the "official catechism of the pagan empire," and by Wilamowitz the "positive complement of Julian's work *Contra Christianos*," is frequently quoted by Mau, who points out a number of close parallels with Julian. He agrees with Zeller, Cumont, and Negri, against Wilamowitz, in identifying its author with that friend of Julian to whom his fourth oration is addressed.

In the fifth oration, the hymn to the mother of the gods, we see the effort of Julian to adapt to his philosophic scheme the other great mysteries cult of his day. The Mithraic religion, seeking to conciliate the other cults of the empire, had, from the first, associated with the sun-god the worship of the Magna Mater, and Attis had been endowed with the attributes of Mithras. Though the second hymn is nominally in honor of Cybele, Attis is the real hero. Writing of his descent to earth Julian uses the word *συγκατάβασις*, which had been employed by the Christians to describe the incarnation of Christ. Attis is Hermès, Dionysus, the moon, the sun, and finally Mithras the *νοερός θεός*. Vain is all Mau's endeavor to make clear to us what was so obviously never clear to Julian, the steps by which Attis attains his apotheosis and his precise functions. It is waste of time to try to make out for Julian a coherent or consistent creed.

In the translation of the two hymns which closes his tract Mau prints a few marginal references to indicate echoes or quotations of classical Greek literature, especially of Plato and Aristotle. But he does not attempt to be exhaustive, and hardly adds to Hertlein's collection of such references in the footnotes to his text. In fact, on Julian 143 A, where Julian cites Aristotle's *Ethics*, Mau reprint's Hertlein's error in the reference.

In this thorough discussion of the two orations, Mau ignores the fact that they are really sophistic compositions and fall under the definition of *φυσικοί ὕμνοι* given, perhaps a century earlier, by Menander in his treatise *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*. The fourth oration has, however, nearly all the features of a *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. But, after all, their only interest for us lies in this, that in all the range of Neo-Platonic literature they best illustrate the methods by which philosophy sought to enlist the support of the pagan cults against Christianity, that would conciliate no cult and no philosophy.

WILMER CAVE WRIGHT

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*Grundriss der Geschichte der klassischen Philologie.* Von ALFRED GUDEMAN. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907. 8vo. Pp. vi+224. Marks 4.80.

Every American philologist who loves the history of his subject is well acquainted with Dr. Gudeman's "Outlines" of that history (now in its fifth impression), and will give it a fresh welcome in its enlarged German form. I say "enlarged," because it has grown by some forty pages; but to the Germans, bowed down as they are by the weight of so many ponderous tomes, rendered difficult to read by close-packed pages, absence of running heads, of subtitles, varieties of type, and the rest of the devices which other nations have adopted to make reading easy, this book ought to come like a revelation. The presentation of so much useful material, without waste of words and in a manner that gives one pleasure in handling it, is a real object lesson.

The general plan of the book remains what it was before; the changes consist mainly in enlargement of details. There is more liberal quotation from the ancient sources in place of mere reference to them, and many more modern books and learned articles are cited than formerly. Whoever wishes to appreciate the difference may turn, for instance, to the account of Didymus, where he will find four pages instead of a little more than two, the gain being due to the kind of additions which I have mentioned. Or one may glance over the eleven pages which contain the excellent survey of the Greek scholia and their sources (these last—the sources—ought to be very useful to many who still seem to think that the doctrine in a scholion originated in the time when we first find it written down). In the older book, only one page was given to this subject, and but eight lines to the Homeric scholia which now have a whole page to themselves. Seven pages (as against a page and a half) are devoted to Latin scholia, and the list of the oldest and most important Greek and Latin manuscripts occupies eight pages instead of one. And when we come to the scholars of the Renaissance and later times there is a similar increase in the generosity of treatment which they receive. But I have said enough to show that the book deserves to take the place of its predecessor.

Not, however, that it is free from blemishes. Of downright errors, perhaps there are only a few to be noted. Lactantius, the first dated book from an Italian press, was printed in Subiaco, not in Rome (p. 163), and it was followed by Cicero *De oratore*, not *De officiis*. It was also the first book in which Greek characters appeared. On the same page, after Hain's *Repertorium*, the additions by Copinger and others should certainly appear. There is no evidence whatever that Naevius (p. 95) wrote that Anna, not Dido, had that little affair with Aeneas; this view is Varro's, and what his source was (if not his own imagination, though few ancient writers except Posidonius are allowed any in these days) we

know not. On p. 67, the reference in the sixth line should be to p. 65, and in the Index (which is too brief) under Longinus the citation of p. 64 is defective. Cicero's remark about Dicaearchus (p. 20) was, of course, a bit of sarcasm, as no doubt Dr. Gudeman knows, though perhaps all his readers may not. In connection with what Pisistratus did or did not do on Homer (p. 10), the important Townley scholion to *Iliad* K should be cited. A recent article in the *Bolletino di Filologia Classica* (XIV. 26) suggests that perhaps the new manuscript of *Agricola* and *Germania* is not altogether without significance (p. 149). No biography of Poggio (p. 157) is cited, but perhaps Dr. Gudeman agrees with me in thinking Shepherd's almost too small for mention. I recall it here only in the hope of stimulating some young scholar in search of a subject to undertake a work which should be enthralling. But it needs a light hand and not too many bristling footnotes.

These, however, are all slight matters. The real blemish in this book is a certain provincialism which is still too common in the products of Germany. There was once a reason for this in a philological leadership which no longer exists unchallenged. We no longer look merely to Germany for fresh ideas; we find them in France, in England, particularly in Italy in recent years, and even American products cannot be neglected. But writers of all these nationalities are too much neglected in the bibliographical lists of this book. And when we come to the lists of scholars in the different periods since the Renaissance, why should the French list stop with Montfaucon and the Italian with Victorius? Where, for instance, are Graux, Mionnet, Cohen, Mai, Borghesi, De Rossi, Fiorelli? And take England: if we must hear of German school teachers like *Agricola* and *Reuchlin* (*quos sine contumelia laudo*), why not also of other pioneers such as Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, or of greater men like Linacre, Gataker, Gale, Gibbon, and Clinton. Dr. Gudeman mentions nobody in comparative grammar before G. Curtius; what of Bopp, Sir W. Jones, and Halhed? To come to our own country were perhaps invidious; but is a history of classical philology complete that says nothing, for instance, of E. A. Sophocles, Beck, Salisbury, and Whitney? These and like omissions under other nationalities are defects which should be remedied in future editions if the work is to commend itself fully in other lands than Germany.

MORRIS H. MORGAN

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*Lexicon Plautinum.* Conscriptit GONZALEZ LODGE. Leipzig: Teubner, Vol. I, fasc. 1-5 (A-EGO), 1901-8. Pp. 480. Each fasc., M. 7.20.

American scholars are sometimes reproached with the fact that they rarely take up a large piece of work. Professor Lodge's *Lexicon* refutes

this charge for his case at least. Anyone who glances over the thousands of citations which these five fascicles contain will recognize this fact at once. Indeed the editor spent ten years, we understand, in collecting his material before he began the composition of a single article.

The material given in most articles is arranged under two heads, viz. *Forma* and *Significatio*. Sometimes, as in the case of *cum*, *de*, or *edepol*, a third category, *Collocatio*, appears. Where a word has both an unassimilated and an assimilated form, the editor seems to have chosen the assimilated forms, e. g., *affatim*, *affero*, and *alloquor*, for the lemma. This seems hardly consistent with the appearance in other lemmas of such archaic forms as *avorto* and *avos*. Under *Forma* are given not only all the orthographical variants and the inflectional forms which the word in question has in Plautus, but also the MS readings and the readings adopted by Loewe, Goetz, and Schoell, by the Teubner text, by Leo, and by Ussing, to which from the fourth fascicle on Lindsay's readings have been added. Under *Collocatio*, noteworthy facts with reference to the position which a word takes in different idioms are set down. *Significatio* for many words falls into two main headings, the proper, and the transferred meaning. Sometimes, as in the case of a verb (e. g., *curo*), syntax furnishes the basis of further subdivision. In these subdivisions when a paragraph is given up to the occurrence of the lemma with a single word, e. g., *cum* with *esse*, the citations stand in the alphabetized order of the plays. Where a paragraph deals with several words, the alphabetical order of the words concerned is followed, e. g., *agere*, *degere*, *exigere*, etc. A bibliography is given in the first and fourth fascicles to which many additions are made in the several articles. To the fifth fascicle Professors Waters and Sihler have contributed the articles on *cum* and *de* and on *dico* respectively.

The editor's purpose was to furnish all the material for a study of Plautine meanings, and this object he has accomplished admirably. In point of fact he has done much more. He has given us a solid basis also for the study of Plautine forms, inflections, syntax, and word-groups, and has shown, as it never has been shown before, Plautus' use and his failure to use certain words and the characteristics of his style. The study of morphology, syntax, and sentence-accent in particular will be greatly furthered by this work. For the sake of completeness, the reviewer could wish that the editor had included prosody, pronunciation, word-accent, and the vernacular meaning of peculiar idioms in the scope of his plan. It would have been interesting, for instance, to have had his opinion on the prosody of *eodem*, the accent of a tribrach to which a short enclitic is appended, and the meaning of such characteristic and difficult idioms as *quid ais* and *quid tu ais* might well have been given, but this would be asking too much even of so generous a lexicographer as Professor Lodge.



Criticism of this work is likely to be directed to three main points: (1) to the inclusion of variants from several editions, (2) to the classification within the articles, and (3) to the use of a large number of subdivisions. Most lexicographers either establish a text of their own or follow some good text. So, for instance, Leo's text has been made the basis for the Plautine citations which are appearing in the *Thesaurus*. Space, as well as the reader's time in examining a citation, is saved by these means. But the text of Plautus is not so surely established as is that of many other ancient authors, and it is very helpful to learn from a lexicon that at a given point there is difficulty and to get all the light upon it which may be had from the MS readings and from the conjectures of the best Plautine critics. The bearing of the second and third points of criticism may be illustrated by a brief examination of the article on *contra*. This word is treated under two heads, viz., as an adverb, and as a preposition with the accusative, dative, and ablative. All the instances cited with the dative and ablative, e. g., *aurichalco contra non carum fuit meum mendacium*, Ps. 688, the reviewer would regard as adverbial. Lodge gives three cases with the accusative as sure and four more as possible. In all his possible instances the accusative should probably be taken as the object of the verb of the sentence; the text is doubtful in all three of his sure cases, while over against these three stand fifty-four clear instances of the use of *contra* as an adverb. In other words, it is very doubtful if *contra* should ever be taken as a preposition in Plautus. In the same article heading No. 4, "*leniore sensu*," is rather vague; Nos. 6 and 7 are not classified on the same basis as the other numbers, and it is not clear why *Per.* 208 under No. 6 does not stand under No. 1. This brief analysis of a rather extreme case may illustrate the different opinions which may be held by scholars with reference to the classification of meanings in some of the articles, but in general the classification has been made with great judgment and the results presented with admirable clearness. The completed work will contain sixteen fascicles so that approximately one-third of it is already in print. The citations for the entire lexicon are already prepared and the MS for the sixth fascicle, which completes the letter F, is ready for the printer, so that the completion of the work within a reasonable time is assured. It will stand as a worthy monument to the scholarship of the editor.

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*Singular und Plural*. By KURT WITTE. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907. Pp. viii + 270. M. 8.

Witte begins with the proposition, well supported, that each word had originally its own number, e. g., *πῆγάι, ῥοαί, θύραι, λαοί, ζευαί, κριθαί, πύλαι, ῥῖνες, φρένες, τρίχες, ἔθειραι, σάρκες, ὄχρα* were plural only; while *εὐνή, κλισίη*,



πνοιή, δακτή, χαίτη, κόμη, μῦθος, ψάμαθος, μέγαρον, δάκρυ, στέρνον, τόξον, νῶτον, μέτωπον, ἄρμα, πῆμα, στῆθος, χάρις, ὕδωρ were singular, except when used with plural meaning as true plurals.

I shall illustrate his method by showing how he explains the shift of *στῆθος* to plural and of *φρένες* to singular without change of meaning. The plural of *στῆθος* is practically confined to the dative, where the verse might demand *στήθεσσι(ν)*, *στήθεσι(ν)*, but could not have developed the metrically difficult singular *στήθει*. We have a true plural in Δ 289:

τοῖος πᾶσιν θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γένετο.

The meter under the influence of *φρεσί*, originally plural, developed the poetic plural. (The phrase poetic plural conveys a false idea, but is used for convenience.) Compare these two verses:

Φ 583: ἦ δὴ πον μάλ' ἔολπας ἐνὶ φρεσί, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,

φ 317: οὐδ' αὐτὸς πον τοῦτό γ' ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔολπεν,

Hence the reason for the familiar rule "When *στῆθος* means a part of the body, as such, the singular is generally used, the plural when it means the mind," since when it means mind *στήθεσσι* is a substitute for and is dominated by *φρεσί*. The last step in the change is taken, when this dative plural frees itself from its analogue, the reason for its use in the plural is forgotten, and the poetic plural is used for a part of the body as such:

K 131: ὥς εἰπὼν ἔδυνε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα.

Meter and analogy with a word of like meaning, *θυμός*, developed the singular of *φρένες* in the phrase *κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν*. Homer confines the singular to the accusative except in two late passages where the origin of the accusative singular was forgotten and *φρένα* became independently productive, so that a nominative and dative singular were created, K 45, Z 65.

*ἄρμα*, originally singular, became plural, not because a chariot was composed of parts, but from the meter, from analogy with *ὄχρα*, a plural, and also from association with the plural *ἵπποι*; as in

E 192: ἵπποι δ' οὐ παρέασι καὶ ἄρματα τῶν κ' ἐπιβαίην.

Thus these nouns appear in three stages, the original number, a change under the influence of meter and analogy, and finally when the original number and the reason for the change were ignored or forgotten. Witte uses the stages of variation to determine the relative antiquity of the books of Homer, the oldest books showing the least, the latest books the most, deviation from the original singular or plural. The

oldest books of the *Iliad* are Π-P, the latest is Ω; *Odyssey*, αχ the latest. The bulk of the *Odyssey* lies between the earliest and latest books of the *Iliad*. Witte sees the original of Σ 24 in Π 798. Robert using another theory assigned Σ 24 to the *Uriliad*, Π 798 to a later addition. Quot homines tot sententiae!

Applying these methods to Hesiod Witte finds the bulk of *Theogony* and *Works and Days* is older than the later Homeric books, but late verses have been interpolated, e. g., W. and D. 753 contains the form λουτρῶ. There is no other example of the singular of this noun until *Antigone* 1201, where because of the meter Sophocles substituted the accusative singular. In the passage in Hesiod there was no metrical reason for the change, hence the singular dates from Sophocles, and this verse is dependent on and subsequent to the *Antigone*. Aristophanes parodies this innovation of tragedy in *Wasps* 604; πρῶκτος λουτροῦ περι-γινόμενος, κτλ.

ἵδατα as poetic plural was developed by the choral lyric, and was first used in the dative plural without necessity of meter in Euripides *Alcestis* 159. This then dates the free use of this word as plural with singular meaning. The *Batrachomyomachia* abounds in this use, hence must be later than the *Alcestis*. Epic verse is so conservative that the poem must be much younger than the passages imitated.

The dramatic poets, as the epic, continued to change the original or received number under the stress of meter or analogy. Aristophanes generally avoided the innovation of tragic poetry, choosing rather the popular speech, except in parody.

Apollonius was more conservative in developing forms or accepting those already developed than most of the books of Homer (accordingly older), and so on this basis would wreck the theory, hence it is clear that Apollonius made just such a study as Witte himself, and thus avoided the errors of the late Homeric books; "Wer wusste vorher etwas von dem zeitlichen Verhältnis der Numeri φρένες φρήν? Von den Modernen niemand. Anders die Alexandriner; sie waren genau unterrichtet über die Erscheinung, die wir oberflächlich bisher den poetischen Plural genannt haben." However, although Apollonius had anticipated Witte in the knowledge of the use of φρένες, the facts about ἵδωρ had escaped him, so he uses the dative plural twelve times, Homer never. The author clearly presses his theories too far.

The division of Homer into strata in accordance with the divergence from the original number of nouns is a clever and interesting piece of linguistic dexterity, but will convince no one inclined to doubt. However, as a study of language and the development in syntax the book is of unusual merit.

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*The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part II. Edited by BERNARD P. GRENFELL, M.A., D.LITT., AND ARTHUR S. HUNT, M.A., D.LITT., with the assistance of EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, PH.D. (University of California Publications, Graeco-Roman Archaeology, Vol. II.) London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1907. 4to. Pp. xv+485, 3 plates.

In the winter of 1899-1900 Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, excavating for the University of California with funds provided by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, found great quantities of papyri at the site of the ancient Tebtunis, in the Fayûm. These papyri fall naturally into three divisions: those from the Ptolemaic necropolis of the third and second centuries B. C., those from mummies of crocodiles, dating from the second and first centuries B. C., and those found in the houses of the town, which date almost exclusively from the first three centuries after Christ. The papyri derived from the mummies of crocodiles were published in 1902 (*The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part I). The present volume contains the papyri from the ruins of the town.

The first volume contained documents of various kinds and only four literary papyri: two fragments of an anthology, one from a collection of Alexandrian epigrams, and one from the second book of the *Iliad*. Of 160 papyri published in the present volume, only fourteen are literary, and only four of these are likely to interest many readers of *Classical Philology*. The first, of the second century after Christ, contains parts of 109 lines between l. 342 and l. 652 of the second book of the *Iliad*. In l. 342 ἐριδαίνετον is found for ἐριδαίνουμεν of the MSS; l. 558, which brings Ajax and his Salaminians into connection with the Athenians, is omitted; and l. 579 has the vulgate reading ὅτι πᾶσι. The omission of l. 532 is doubtless due to mere carelessness, as are many other unimportant variants. The second fragment, of the late second century, contains *Iliad* xi. 556-613. Here l. 564 reads (with the MSS) τηλεκλητοί, l. 565 has ἐίφ]εσίν τε (MSS ξυστοῖσι), and l. 601, ιω κ]α[τ]αδακρυνό[εσσ]αν (MSS ἰωκά τε δακρυνέουσαν). At the beginning of ll. 603, 604, and 610, twenty-two letters are lost, but what remains (εκυνησεν το, 603; λιπτανε, 604; and λετον ὅσσε ἀνακτος, 610) suffices to show that these lines represent a tradition different from that of other MSS. The third fragment, containing §§293-95 of Demosthenes' oration *De falsa legatione*, offers no important variants. By far the most interesting among the literary papyri is the fourth, which dates from the first half of the third century, for this contains nothing less than a fragment of the Greek original of the *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* of Dictys Cretensis, thus confirming the conclusion reached by Noack (*Philologus*, VI Supplementband, 1893, pp. 402-500) that the Latin version is really a translation. The relations of Malalas, Cedrenus, and the anonymous writer in Cramer's *Anecdota Parisiana*, II, pp. 166 ff.,

to the Greek original and to one another, may perhaps also be determined with the aid of this fragment, which corresponds to Book iv, chaps. 9-14, with about half of 15, of the Latin text. The remaining literary papyri contain fragments of medical, astronomical and astrological works, a magical charm, and two acrostics.

Since the papyri contained in this volume are of comparatively late date, the documents published represent for the most part types already made familiar through previous publications, such as official documents, contracts, receipts, and private letters. Some of these are interesting, but most of them add little to our knowledge. Two series of documents are, however, of considerable importance. The first relates to the priests of Soknebtunis and the second to taxation. These documents contain much information concerning the relations of the priests to the state and the details of the system by which the state derived its revenue.

In addition to the papyri which are published in full, with introductions and notes, 265 less important fragments are described with more or less complete publication of their text, and twenty ostraca are published. A first appendix contains the text, with introduction and notes, of a papyrus in the British Museum (P. 372), which dates from the second century of our era and gives directions for the calculation of various taxes. A second appendix, "The Topography of the Arsinoite Nome," supplements and corrects in some particulars Wessely's *Topographie des Faijâm* (Vienna, 1904). The volume is supplied with full indices, chiefly the work of Professor Goodspeed. The editors have performed their task with the greatest industry, learning, and acumen. The texts are most carefully published, and in the introductions, translations, and notes the reader finds the information necessary to an immediate understanding of the text and also such references to other material and to the work of other scholars as may assist him in further investigation. The volume contains even more than can reasonably be demanded in a first publication of new material.

HAROLD N. FOWLER

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*The Greatness and Decline of Rome.* By GUGLIELMO FERRERO; translated by ALFRED E. ZIMMERN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Vols. I. and II. Pp. vi+328; vi+389. \$5.25 net.

The thesis of Sig. Ferrero's *Grandezza e Decadenza di Roma*, the first two volumes of which have been translated by Mr. Zimmern, is that the Roman world-conquest was the effect of an internal transformation which is continually being re-enacted in the history of societies on a larger or a smaller scale, namely the growth of a national and mercantile democracy on the ruins of a federation of agricultural aristocracies. In accordance with this, the first volume, "The Empire Builders" ("La

Conquista dell' Impero"), begins with the death of Sulla, when "in place of a number of small federal republics, there was a single Italian nation, with an agriculture, a commerce, an army, a civilization of its own." Rome was ready to begin the conquest of the world.

The new policy was initiated by Lucullus, "the Napoleon of the last century of the Republic," whose brilliant and sensational conquests have appealed strongly to the imagination of Sig. Ferrero. He has realized, as perhaps no one before him, the significance of Lucullus' eastern campaigns, and the importance of his policy of personal initiative, which led him to embark on a career of external conquest, hitherto undreamed of by the conservative and short-sighted commanders of Roman armies. The author, too, has been the first to appreciate fully the influence of economic conditions on the politics of this period, for he rightly attributes the recall of Lucullus to a general movement induced by hard times, and skilfully used by an unscrupulous rival. For it was Pompey who was at once the underhand opponent of Lucullus and his aptest pupil. Lacking in real originality, he was quick to use the ideas of men of genius, and realizing the significance of Lucullus' conquests, he determined to oust their originator and complete them himself.

During Pompey's absence in the East Crassus and Caesar became the leaders of the democratic party. Sig. Ferrero is inclined to believe, with Mommsen, that these two men took part in the conspiracy of Sulla and Autronius, hoping to secure the consuls of 65 as allies in their plans. He holds, however, that they took no part in the communistic plans of Catiline. This conspiracy is shown to have thus been doomed to failure, but the effect of its suppression on Roman politics is represented as far-reaching. Respectable citizens rallied around the small band of conservatives, and democracy under Caesar's leadership became a party of social discontent.

This was the party which used the Bona Dea scandal to increase its own power; for Clodius was acquitted by means of the money of Crassus, distributed to the jurors at Caesar's request. But this future henchman of the democratic leaders could not have been the moral degenerate (*pazzo morale*) that Sig. Ferrero's knowledge of the criminally insane has caused him to portray. Such a man would not have been active and clever enough to be worth the money and trouble spent in securing him for the party.

Similarly, the author has failed to see the real cause of Clodius' persecution of Cicero. Taking as his foundation a bit of gossip recorded by Plutarch (*Cic.* 29), he seeks to prove that the orator, urged on by his wife, advocated the bill directed against Clodius and thereby incurred the latter's enmity. But for this there is no authority. Cicero's participation in the case was confined to his testimony, which broke down the defendant's plea of alibi and in spite of which he was acquitted. Clodius

attack on Cicero had, then, a deeper root. A general campaign against the conservatives was to be undertaken, and an important part of it would consist in discrediting and banishing the already unpopular consul who had superintended the execution of the Catilinarians.

This attack upon the conservatives was to be made by a new democratic party, modeled, according to Sig. Ferrero, after the moderate democracy of 70, but transformed by Caesar, after the success of his land bill of 59, into a pure democracy, in which the senate was to play no part. The policy of the triumvirs was to be carried out by means of organized voters in the popular assembly. This organization, managed by Clodius, has been strikingly called by Sig. Ferrero the Tammany Hall of Rome. Political clubs were founded, and an electoral army recruited from the poorer voters, which, thanks to Clodius' corn law, was maintained by the government, and was entirely at the service of the democratic leaders. The refined and the educated retired from public life to the quieter and more congenial pursuits of agriculture and literature, and "Roman politics became a world-wide market for laws and appointments, kingdoms and provinces, privileges and disreputable deals: full of intrigue and swindling, treachery and violence."

The second volume, which bears the title "Julius Caesar," begins with the war in Gaul—Caesar's attempt to carry out the policy of imperialism. The author rightly emphasizes the fact that Caesar, eager to follow in the footsteps of Lucullus and Pompey, must win a conspicuous victory if he was to hold the political superiority which he had gained, and shows that it was for this reason that the attack was made upon the Helvetians. He also points out the absurdity of the rumors about this tribe, which were current at Rome, and which had led the Romans to believe that Italy was in danger of a new invasion by northern barbarians, and shows clearly that this movement was merely a great *trek* on the part of this mountain people into the fertile plains of Gaul. Caesar's unprovoked attack on them was therefore a great blunder.

The subsequent career of Caesar in Gaul is described with clearness and vividness. Sig. Ferrero, while appreciating the brilliance of the proconsul, points out his mistakes—the premature annexation of the country in 57, which is shown to have been merely a political maneuver, the attempted alliance with the Gallic nationalist party, which alienated his old friends and failed to gain him new ones, and especially his policy of bloody extermination, which resulted in the general rebellion led by Vercingetorix.

Meanwhile at Rome a reaction had set in against the imperialistic policy of the leaders of the democrats, particularly among the new middle class of land-owners, who had risen to moderate wealth by success in agriculture and industrial occupations. Especially after the disaster at Carrhae men were inclined to make Caesar the scapegoat both for



defeat abroad and anarchy at home. In 51 he was entirely discredited, "the man best hated and most despised by the upper classes" (Italian version, II, p. 250). This attitude was shared, in part at least, by Pompey, whose estrangement from Caesar Sig. Ferrero attributes to a difference between the temperaments, rather than the ambitions, of the two men. It was impossible for conservative and radical to continue to work together.

In his account of the Civil War Sig. Ferrero is perhaps at his best. He has used his powers of description to give a vivid account of the panic which broke out in the capital when the news was brought that Caesar had invaded Italy, and of the financial crisis which followed the departure of Pompey and the conservatives. His portrayal of the characters of the two leaders is a natural reaction against Mommsen's. Pompey is indeed arrogant, and hesitating and obstinate by turns, yet "not a fool, as several modern historians in their enthusiasm for Caesar have been pleased to call him, but a typical and intelligent aristocrat, with all the faults and all the virtues of the old nobility, a man upon whom the times had imposed a task which was far beyond his powers." On the other hand, while he depicts the marvelous keenness, the boundless energy, and the extraordinary daring of Caesar, he is not blind to his many acts of foolhardiness, and does not spare his criticisms when the victorious leader lingered for months at Alexandria, greatly to the damage of his cause and the discouragement of his followers. The author also appreciates the difficulty of Caesar's position in Rome after his return from Africa in 46, and the futility of his magnificent plans, none of which could set the dictatorship upon a firm basis and establish a new order of things. For Caesar, says Sig. Ferrero, though a great general, a great writer, a great character, was not a great statesman. He was the greatest demagogue of history, in whom were embodied all the revolutionary forces, magnificent and awful, of a mercantile age in conflict with the traditions of an old-time agricultural society.

To those who read in this history of the world-power first made possible by the establishment of a mercantile democracy, of the enormous influence of financiers and financial situations upon politicians and politics, of selfish ends converted into party issues, the resemblance between Rome and our own times will recur with redoubled force. There is danger, to be sure, that the historian, on account of his intimate acquaintance with the politics of modern Europe, will read our present-day conditions into times when they did not in reality exist, yet surely he is justified in drawing many parallels between the selfishness of Rome and the commercialism of our own day, and the result has proved to be a work unexcelled in vividness and interest by any history of Rome.

DAVID MAGIE, JR.

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*Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung, mit Ausschluss der Attischen.* Untersucht von MARTIN P. NILSSON. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. Pp. 490. 12 M.

*Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae.* Ediderunt et explanaverunt IOANNES DE PROTT ET LUDOVICUS ZIEHEN. Pars altera; fasciculus I: Leges Graeciae et Insularum. Edidit LUDOVICUS ZIEHEN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. Pp. 372. 12 M.

Although these two books serve different purposes they may appropriately be considered together.

Students of Greek religion have long felt the need of a comprehensive treatment of the religious festivals outside of Athens. The Athenian cycle is well provided for by Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen* (1898), the revision of the *Heortologie* published thirty-four years before—and this in spite of the author's somewhat antiquated views; but for the non-Athenian festivals we have had no satisfactory book, since the second edition of Hermann's *Lehrbuch* is a half-century old and Stengel in his well-known *Kultusaltertümer* was prevented by the plan of the series from giving more than a brief outline of these festivals; nor could the reviser of the fourth edition of Schoemann's *Altertümer* treat the subject adequately; and Gruppe's gigantic *Sammelwerk* likewise fails to supply our needs. Nilsson's book, therefore, is most welcome, both because it fills a gap and for its own high merits. The festivals are wisely arranged according to the god in whose honor they were held—a topographical classification would have caused confusion—but the topographical point of view is kept constantly in mind, and cross-references as well as the excellent topographical index at the end enable the reader to consider together at pleasure the festivals of any locality. First are treated the festivals connected with the greater gods: Zeus, Cronos, and Dia; Hera, Poseidon, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Dionysus, Demeter, Core-Persephone, Aphrodite, Ariadne and Adonis, Hermes, Hecate; then a chapter is devoted to the various lesser divinities; the festivals of Heracles form the transition to those of the dead and the heroes; and a chapter on the festivals of unknown gods, with four indices, closes the book. Each chapter given to the greater gods opens with a brief, but often illuminating, sketch of the divinity, which naturally is confined to the characteristics most closely connected with the subject of the book; the festivals are then treated in order.

The material on which our knowledge depends is so fragmentary and presents so many gaps which must be filled by hypotheses that one who attempts to give a comprehensive and connected treatment of the festivals runs a grave danger of erecting a structure on insufficient foundation. This danger Nilsson has for the most part avoided; he is at home in the festival practices of many peoples and has known how to employ this

knowledge to advantage in almost every chapter without indulging in those extravagances to which some devotees of the "comparative" method are prone. Indeed, in his wise use of illustrative material found in the rites of varied peoples lies one of Nilsson's conspicuous services, and in this he has set a standard for all workers in this and allied fields. The reader will be surprised, as the author confesses that he was himself, by the preponderance of agrarian festivals—an important result of the investigation, which shows clearly the stage of civilization in which most of these rites, performed in conjunction with certain agricultural acts, received their permanent character; after the establishment of a calendar based on the moon's phases, these festivals naturally received more or less fixed places in the annual cycle.

All who have occasion to use Nilsson's book will join in the hope that he will soon give us the second work on the festivals of a non-religious character, for which he says that he has already collected the material.

In 1896 von Prott issued the first fascicle, *Fasti Sacri*, of the *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, which he with L. Ziehen proposed to edit with commentary. According to the original plan von Prott was to undertake the inscriptions relating to Alexander and his successors while Ziehen was to deal with the rest. Unfortunately the former died before he brought his material to a point where it could readily be prepared for publication, which fact, together with the appearance of Dittenberger's *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, determined the surviving editor to continue with his part of the work as first arranged. The present fascicle contains one hundred and fifty-three inscriptions, of which forty-nine come from Attica, fourteen from the Peloponnesus, twenty-six from northern Greece, while the remaining sixty-four have their origin in the islands, of which Cos naturally has furnished more than any other. The editing has been done with a conservative independence and respect for the stones that is welcome, while the commentary exhibits a sanity of judgment in the use of abundant knowledge which deserves the gratitude of every student of Greek religious institutions. Especially valuable are the commentaries on such important inscriptions as that of the Hecatompodon (1), for which unfortunately Ziehen could not use Hill's valuable contribution (*AJA.* X, 1906, p. 82); or those relating to the Eleusinian (2-4; 6-7; 28) and the Andanian (58) mysteries. Equally important are the elucidations of the lex of the Iobacchi (46), the leges of the Labyadae (74), the lex of the Delphic Amphictiones (75), the decree concerning the oracle of Apollo Coropaeus (80), the Cean laws relating to funerals (93) and to feasts and games (94), and the "will" of Epicteta (129), to select some of the more significant numbers. When the second fascicle appears with indices—as we hope—the use of the present part will be easier; now ready reference is difficult.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CLIFFORD H. MOORE

*Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae Indices Apostolorum Discipulorumque Domini Dorotheo, Epiphanio, Hippolyto Aliisque Vindicata.* Edidit THEODORUS SCHERMANN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907. Pp. lxxi+255. M. 5.60.

The two parts of this work, the lives of the prophets and the catalogues of the apostles and disciples, though otherwise unconnected, are published together here only because they are either handed down under the names of the same authors, or are found together in the same manuscripts. Both, moreover, had their home in Syria.

Schermann thinks that the source of the fabulous lives of the prophets was a Greek document—a translation perhaps of a Hebrew original—written by a Jew some time between 150 B. C. and 150 A. D. and containing only biographical and legendary statements. Afterward Christian authors added Messianic prophecies similar to the Christian interpolations in the *Lives of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Of the six recensions of the Greek text which he distinguishes, the oldest is an anonymous work derived ultimately from Origen. Next comes the text of Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch (290 A. D.), not the bishop of Tyre, in which the Messianic prophecies being put first as prefaces in the case of the minor prophets leave the lives that follow free from Christian additions, and so in this text alone is preserved "the pure biographical form of the original." It remains to mention two closely related recensions of the pseudo-Epiphanius of the sixth century, then the so-called scholia-recension of the same age, and finally one preserved in the Greek menologies and synaxaria, not published here because it is a mixture of the others.

The second part of the book contains (1) the legendary catalogues of the apostles, showing where they preached, how they died and where they lie buried, and (2) the lists of the seventy disciples. They are handed down to us in two groups of texts, Syriac and Greek, from a common Syriac source. The Greek recensions date from the sixth to the twelfth century, the oldest having been discovered by Schermann in the Vatican. Others are falsely ascribed to Epiphanius, Dorotheus, Hippolytus, and Symeon Logothetes. The whole subject is fully and satisfactorily discussed by our author in his recent work *Propheten- und Apostellegenden* in volume 31 of Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*.

CHARLES W. PEPPLER

EMORY COLLEGE

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T. LUCRETI CARI. *De rerum natura*. Edited by WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MERRILL. American Book Company. Pp. 806.

Editors and teachers of Lucretius will always emphasize that aspect of the *De rerum natura*, philological, literary, or philosophical, that inter-

ests them most. A glance at Professor Merrill's edition shows that he is more interested in the accumulation of philological detail than in illuminating literary criticism or the study of the relation of the poet's thought to his sources. This once noted, it is the part of fair criticism to judge the book by what it does rather than by what it does not offer. While serviceable in the class-room, it will be especially useful for consultation by the more advanced students of the seminar of which it is evidently a product. It is very full and conscientious in the citation of the "literature" and presents an enormous amount of statistical observation of Lucretian usage from papers published and unpublished. The structure of the hexameter in particular has been closely studied, and many interesting details are noted. There is, perhaps, a tendency to schoolmaster the poet, and some noble if rugged lines are censured because they do not conform to Virgilian or Ovidian norms. Questions of text criticism are not relegated to an appendix, but abundantly treated in the exegetical notes. There are some misprints: notably Enoanda for Oenoanda *passim*. The 56 pages of introduction discuss the usual topics with copious footnotes and references to the literature.

It is impossible to enter upon this detail here, and the mere expression of occasional dissent would be useless. Even when we cannot accept Professor Merrill's interpretations he usually spreads before us the material for a dissenting opinion. The essential references to the Greek philosophic sources as indicated by Munro, Woltjer, and Giussani are generally given, if sometimes in a somewhat perfunctory fashion. But in a work of so much labor we might perhaps look for more illustration from the Greek than we find. To take a few instances at random: the use of *fundere* (1. 351, etc.) recalls Empedocles' *χεῖρ' ἔθνεα μυρία θνητῶν; quo referentes* (1. 424, etc.) is Epicurus' *ἐφ' ὃ ἀνάξομεν* (D. L. x. 38) or his *ἀναφέροντα* (x. 63); *adhibere* (1. 828, etc.) is *προσφέρεισθαι* (D. L. x. 54); *latrare* (2. 17) is *βοᾶν*; *nil agere tot corpora materiai* (2. 1057) suggests *ἀργὴν ἔλγην*; *limus* and *faex* (5. 496, 497) attempt to reproduce the Greek *ἰλὺς* and *ὑποστάθμη*; *quasi conspurcare* (6. 22) is probably *ῥυπαίνειν*; the unique use of *penetrabat eos* (5. 1262) may be "vulgar Latin," but it looks like an attempt to render *εἰσῆλθε* or *εἰσῆλθεν αὐτοῖς* or an equivalent; *stillicidi casus lapidem cavat* (1. 313) suggests Choerilus fr. 9 *πέτρην κοιλαίνα* and other Greek parallels; the point in 1. 465 *cum dicunt esse* would be made more clear by citation of Plato *Tim.* 38 A-B and Plutarch *Moral.* 1116 B; at 1. 830 it should be noted that Plato *Protag.* 329 D nearly if not quite proves that *ὁμοιομερής* and all its paronyms are later than Plato; 1. 446, 447 should be glossed by *οὐτ' αἰσθητὸν οὐτε νοητόν*; *montivagae ferae* 1. 404 may be illustrated by *θήρ' ὀρεβάτην* (Soph. *Phil.* 955) and similar expressions; *dias in luminis oras* when used of birth recalls Pindar's *θαητῶν ἐς αἴγλαν* in a like connection (*Nem.* 1. 35); the use of *corpora deponunt* for *se* 1. 258 is paralleled by Pindar's use of *δέμας* (*O.* 1. 20).

*Fortuna gubernans* (5. 107) has many Greek parallels from Menander to *Anth. Pal.* x. 65.

These suggestions are offered with no captious intention. Professor Merrill has packed his 800 pages with information, and it only remains to thank him for what he has given us.

PAUL SHOREY

*L. Annaei Senecae opera quae supersunt.* Volumen II. L. Annaei Senecae Naturalium Quaestionum libros viii edidit ALFRED GERCKE. Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1907. Pp. xlvii + 278. M. 3.60.

While a new critical edition of all the prose writings of the philosopher Seneca was greatly needed, this was conspicuously true of the *Naturales Quaestiones* on account of the extreme corruption of the text. The edition by Gercke should be welcomed as a valuable aid in the study of one of the interesting chapters in the history of science. The chief value of this edition lies in the information which the preface and the critical apparatus give concerning the manuscripts.

After treating briefly of the time of composition and the division of the work, the editor discusses the order of the eight books. Definite references of Seneca to the order in which different parts of the subject are presented make it probable that Book iii was written before *iv a*, *iv b* before ii, v before vi, vii before i. The attempt, however, to show that the order of the whole was iii, *iv a*; *iv b*, ii, v, vi; vii, i, is far from convincing. It is maintained as certain—and this is the corner-stone of the argument—that the preface of Book iii was the introduction to the whole work. And yet the words of Seneca, if properly interpreted, are just as appropriate an introduction to the third book as to the first. The *fundamenta* of which he speaks refer to his whole work and not to the first part of it. This preface has also been misinterpreted by being put in part into the mouth of Lucilius. The view that 6, 8, 3 and 2, 59, 5 were written after *iv a*, and that 1, 2, 3 was written after 2, 26, 9, and i praef. 13 after 2, 45, 3, rests upon a strained interpretation of the passages compared. In 2, 1, 4, Seneca is speaking of the parts of physical science in general, not of the parts of his own work. The editor, however, is so certain of the correctness of his views that he is not satisfied with presenting them in the preface but renumbers the books in the text. The order of the books is again discussed in the section on their subscriptions and publication, the change from the original order to the present one being ascribed to Seneca himself. But if this is the order in which the author wished the books published, what propriety is there in renumbering them in their published form?

The remainder of the preface is devoted to the history of the work

and to the description and classification of the manuscripts. The discussion of these matters is full and clear. In his zeal to demonstrate that Haase and others attached too much importance to E, the editor is inclined to go to the opposite extreme.

The text is accompanied by references to the ancient authors who made use of the *Naturales Quaestiones* and by a critical apparatus, which shows good judgment in what it gives and omits. An *Index Nominum* and an *Index Testimoniorum* close the volume.

Increased knowledge of the manuscripts and the labors of scholars since Haase have made it possible to improve upon his text in many details. On the other hand, in numerous changes, especially in many of the emendations proposed by the editor himself, there is no improvement over the recension of Haase, which is not yet by any means made superfluous. A large amount of work still remains to be done on the *Naturales Quaestiones*.

FRANK IVAN MERCHANT

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*Roman Economic Conditions to the Close of the Republic.* By EDMUND HENRY OLIVER. University of Toronto Library, 1907. Pp. xv+200. \$1.50.

This study forms an extra volume in the "University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics." It is a welcome addition to the comparatively few English works on Roman economy and finance. The main division, pp. 41-192, treats of the period from Rome's first Mediterranean expansion to the close of the republic, under four heads: general economic conditions, agriculture, etc., industries, trade and commerce, administration and finance.

In general, the author seems to overrate Roman agriculture and finance and to underestimate the importance of Roman commerce and manufactures. He occasionally combines in one description the statements, e.g., of Cato and Pliny the elder. This seems to be a somewhat questionable mode of procedure. He would have increased the usefulness of the book if he had given modern equivalents for all ancient coins, weights, and measures. He follows the quite common usage of rating the sesterce at about four cents (cf. pp. 159, 160, 165). The Latinists who now make use of the obsolete ratio of 16:1 might be considered belated populists in disguise. So far as the reviewer can see, it is necessary to adopt either the ancient ratio of ca. 12:1 or the present market ratio. The former is to be preferred.

A few matters of detail may be noted. On p. 43 the author follows Plutarch's version of the anecdote about the *chlamydes* of Lucullus in preference to that of Horace. On p. 45, 12,000,000 sesterces should be



changed to 12,000, and 40,000,000 to 4,000,000. The MS reading *duo milia* might be preferred to the old reading, *sex milia*. At this point and elsewhere several words are omitted within the quotation marks, and the fact is not indicated. Farther down "Peacocks" should be changed to "eggs," and "easily" should modify the next statement. On p. 49, 133,000 lbs., the reading of Weissenborn-Müller, may be substituted for the old reading of 123,000 pounds. P. 52: "which you even remove"; "which" is not found in Horace and should be outside the quotation marks; *usque* probably does not signify "even," and "household goods" a little farther down is a misprint for "household gods." "No colony was founded after 157 B.C.," is quite incorrect. "Borian" is presumably a misprint for "Thorian." The language on p. 70: "The diminution in Rome's population is contemporaneous with the expansion of Roman power," is a somewhat misleading assertion and should be modified. Pp. 74, 75: the reference to Plautus should be *Merc.* 396-98; master (Demipho) should take the place of mistress, and "crush grain" (*pensum faciat*) ought to be corrected to "spin," "perform a spinner's task," or the like. P. 81: *quadrantes* appears here and elsewhere. The author seems to have misunderstood the abbreviation Q, which stands for *quadrantal*, a measure of about 5.77 imperial gallons. "*Telam*" is probably not a web, but a loom. P. 82: "eight hundred jars with a capacity of five sacks of grapes." *Culleus* here and below is apparently a measure of capacity = ca. 119 gallons. The passage may be rendered: "jars with a (total) capacity of 800 *cullei* (ca. 95,200 gals.) in which five vintages can be (stored)."

*Quid multa?* Mistakes are easy to find in most books. A word may be added concerning the bibliography, which is apparently an afterthought. Some commissions and omissions are *etwas entfremdend*. Adams *Roman Antiquities*, 1792, Hüllmann *Römische Grundverfassung*, 1832, Preston and Dodge *The Private Life of the Romans*, 1894, and various magazine articles are included, the histories of Niebuhr, Schwegler, Ranke, Mommsen's *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch*, etc., and all the works of Herzog, Madvig, and Willems are excluded. As a rule, the number of the edition and of the volumes of a work is not stated. The dates of publication are in several instances incorrect or misleading. For example, the *Handbuch*, etc., of Marquardt and Mommsen is said to have been published in 1876. The third edition of Vols. I and II appeared in 1887, and the first edition of Vol. III in 1887-88, etc. Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encyclopädie*, etc., is said to have been issued in 1894.

Apart from the bibliography, the study is a careful and fairly accurate piece of work, and, as a first effort, it is very promising.

J. E. GRANRUD

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*The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery.* Catalogue with Introduction and Descriptive Notes by GEORGE H. CHASE. New York, 1908 (privately printed). Pp. 168 and 23 plates.

The red ware of Arretium is one of the humblest but at the same time one of the most attractive products of what we are accustomed to call "Roman" art. Being made in moulds, in which the designs had been impressed by means of separate stamps, it exhibits no great merits in the way of dramatic composition; but its human figures, as well as its leaves, sprays, and festoons, are often of great beauty. Although this pottery has received a good deal of attention in recent years from specialists, it is little known to amateurs, and information about it, especially in English, has been scanty. Hence this sumptuous and altogether admirable volume is peculiarly welcome.

Mr. James Loeb's collection, at present deposited in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University, numbers five hundred and eighty-nine pieces, of which one hundred and fifty have been thought worthy of illustration. Professor Chase's Introduction summarizes skilfully the results reached by Dragendorff and other investigators. The technical processes employed by the Arretine potters are explained, the finest products are shown to belong to the Augustan Age, and the signatures of the proprietors of factories and of the slaves in their employ, so far as these signatures are represented in the Loeb collection, are discussed. In connection with the last point I should have liked to see the fact brought out that the workmen often have Greek names, so that we are led to believe that most if not all of the men to whom the artistic part of the work was intrusted were of Greek blood. The detailed descriptions of individual pieces are models of careful statement.

F. B. TARBELL

*Aristophanis Pax.* Cum prolegomenis et commentariis edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN, J.F. Lugduni Batavorum: apud A. W. Sijthoff, 1906. Pp. xi+201.

The general features of van Leeuwen's edition of Aristophanes have already been indicated in this *Journal* in connection with the review of his *Ecclesiazusae* (Vol. I, pp. 418 f.). I shall confine myself therefore in the present instance to his treatment of the special problems of the *Pax*.

As regards the scenic arrangements of the play van Leeuwen insists upon a greater degree of realism than Merry and Mazon have found necessary. Not only will he place the house of Zeus on a higher level than that of Trygaeus, but he assumes a change of scene after vss. 176 and 728, in order that the two houses may not be visible at the same time.

The cavern he places in the orchestra, where the work of rescue is performed by the chorus alone under the direction of Hermes and Trygaeus. The troublesome Boeotians, Argives, etc., as well as Lamachus, were presumably left to the imagination of the audience. By means of the anapiesma the statue of Peace was raised, with Opora and Theoria in her arms, until her head towered aloft close beside Hermes.

We are startled for a moment at the apparition of Σωσίας and Ξανθίας in the place of our old friends Οικέτης A and Οικέτης B; but are relieved upon discovering a preliminary note to the effect that this innovation is made solely in order to avoid confusion. It is Xanthias who addresses the audience in the prologue, and who reappears later.

The space at my disposal will not permit of any extended notice of the changes introduced into the text by van Leeuwen. The most serious are the rejection of vss. 417, 831, 1002; the insertion of an entire verse after 1243; the transformation of vss. 299, 300 into trimeters (ὦν γὰρ σπᾶσαι in the latter); and a series of emendations in vss. 503-7, where we find successively τοῖσι Θεβαίοισι (not rather Βοιωτοῖσι?), διατάζετε, and τὴν θεὸν ποτε | ἰδεῖν παροῦσαν. Two changes which have much in their favor are κάρδοπον for ἀντλίαν in vs. 18, and ἡμεῖς Ἀττικοί in place of the unparalleled Ἀττικωνικοί of vs. 215; in support of the former might be cited the scholium on *Nub.* 669, where the phraseology is very similar to the note on this passage. Happily van Leeuwen has not always found it necessary to resort to such heroic measures in removing serious difficulties; particularly attractive are the following emendations: 180 με omitted, 479 ἐχονται ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ (suggested by Richard's ἐνέχονται τῷ ξύλῳ), 628 μου for μοι, 760-63 substitution of third person for first, 1154 ἐξ παρ' Αἰσχίνου for ἐξ Αἰσχινάδου. In two or three instances a simple mark of punctuation helps not a little; thus in 197 (after γάρ), and in 329 (after ἄλλο). It must not be thought, however, that the critical ability of this brilliant editor is directed solely in the direction of emendation; it is a pleasure to emphasize the fact that in a large number of instances he defends the traditional text against the attacks of various critics, occasionally against his own earlier suspicions (so notably in vss. 48 and 458). By a singular oversight the reading of RV in vs. 455 is reported as ἡ instead of ἡ ἡ μόνον; in vs. 103 the entry for V should be διανοεῖ (as R), not διανοεῖς.

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EARNEST CARY

*Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs.* Von KONRAT ZIEGLER. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. Pp. viii+208 and 1 plate.

Indications are not lacking that, were conditions more favorable, many scholars would consider Plutarch an attractive field for their investiga-

tions. Any tendencies in this direction, however, are almost inevitably nipped in the bud by the wretched condition of the text. Notwithstanding the advance which Bernardakis' edition of the *Moralia* made over its predecessors, Wilamowitz' verdict still remains substantially true, "unum iam nunc constat fundamentum recensionis non esse iactum." And for the *Vitae*, despite several excellent editions of single pairs, the situation is still worse. Yet Plutarch's writings are so voluminous, the manuscripts so numerous and scattered, and their interrelationships so complicated and obscure as to deter even the most hardy from attempting to solve the puzzle and publish a satisfactory text. Such an undertaking demands a lifetime, leisure, means for travel, and unremitting industry. Amid all this confusion Ziegler's book affords much encouragement. By means of printed material, correspondence, and travel he has attempted no less a task than the classification of practically every known manuscript of Plutarch's *Lives*.

It is highly significant that so fundamental and seemingly simple a matter as the order of the *Lives* in the extant manuscripts has been almost entirely neglected and never adequately determined. And it is to this that Ziegler first devotes himself. Two arrangements recur with enough frequency to prove that they are not due to chance or to the individual caprice of some copyist—a three-book edition and a two-book edition. In the former the *Lives* are (for the most part) arranged on the basis of Greek nationality (Athenians, Corinthians, etc.) and chronologically within these subdivisions (Theseus, Solon, Themistocles, etc.). In three pairs—Coriolanus-Alcibiades, Aemilius Paulus-Timoleon, and Sertorius-Eumenes—the Romans precede. The other arrangement ignores national lines and is (for the most part) founded on the chronological sequence of the Greek worthies, and Ziegler has made it seem plausible that this arrangement was derived from the first. Curiously enough, the extant family of MSS (X) which preserves this later edition contains only its first book, while the order of citations from Plutarch in Photius' *Bibliotheca* shows that he was acquainted with the second book—in fact, this two-book recension had probably been made only shortly before his time.

The practical bearing of all this on several Plutarch questions is, of course, manifest, and Ziegler himself in the rest of his book proceeds to make one very useful application. In brief, the arrangement of *Lives* becomes a criterion by which can be determined at a glance and almost infallibly to which family (X or Y) any MS belongs. Of course, the matter is sometimes complicated, e. g., by several MSS of different origin having been used jointly to produce a new copy, but such exceptions do not invalidate the general value of the test.

In the second chapter Ziegler makes a detailed study of the MS tradition for each pair of *Lives* in turn, and in the third chapter deals

with Plutarch citations in various Greek and Byzantine authors. A supplement contains the results obtained by a special trip of research in Italy.

Doubtless there are scores of statements in this book which need correction, but it will no longer be necessary for a scholar interested in the text of the *Lives* to undertake to edit them all or to examine every Plutarch MS in Christendom. Knowing in advance the MSS that contain any *Life* or group of *Lives* and at least the general relationship between them (however the details may be modified), anyone can now intelligently choose some task great or small according to his time and inclination. The division of labor thus made possible ought to produce a thoroughgoing edition before many decades. In my opinion, the present work has hastened that result by a quarter-century.

It is regrettable that the results given in the supplement could not have been distributed in their proper places throughout the body of the paper. The arrangement of material is somewhat cumbersome and repetitious also in other respects, though doubtless that was not entirely avoidable. The Prussian Akademie der Wissenschaften did itself the honor of awarding Dr. Ziegler a "Nebenpreis."

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*De inventione Iuvenalis capita tria. . . .* Dissertatio quam  
. . . . scripsit ALFREDUS HARTMANN . . . . Basileae: F.  
Reinhardt, 1908. Pp. 93.

Stimulated by Richard Heinze's appeal for more attention to the historical development of style and technique, the author of this dissertation attempts to discover the nature and the limitations of Juvenal's originality. The results, based on a study of the first, third, and fifth satires (the earlier work of the poet), are summarized as follows: Juvenal shares with earlier satirists an interest in everything that is at variance with the laws of nature, but in his early poems as a result either of inherent taste or of personal experience selects for special criticism the phases of life that illustrate inequality and injustice in the social organism. To illustrate this aspect Juvenal attacks the rich and influential class showing the unfairness of its social eminence, and the disastrous effects upon the poor and honest; the poor are also oppressed by the conditions of life in the city. The satirist vivifies his account of injustice by abundant use of contrast, setting over against each other the different circumstances of the two classes. His zeal and intensity of purpose are manifest, but his themes are the commonplaces of satire and diatribe. His own contribution is found in the abundant use of examples and situations, in his refusal to mass and concentrate his material, and in a

consequent tendency to digression, and digression within digression, with results fatal to unity of composition.

The author of the dissertation is concerned primarily with a comparative study of Juvenal and earlier satirists. He declines to compare the material in Juvenal with the facts of contemporary or earlier social life on the ground that a reconstruction of the facts is impossible from the prejudiced accounts of satirists and epigrammatists; we think that the efforts of Professor Dill and others in this direction have not been altogether fruitless. Moreover, except in a few cases, he shrinks from a painstaking reconstruction of possible literary sources outside of satire. The conclusions are very likely true so far as they go, but they refer rather exclusively to Juvenal's point of view, and to one or two phases of his composition. Should not a complete and convincing account of Juvenal's originality start from a careful study of a number of passages, not necessarily a large number, in which the concrete facts of the social environment described by the poet are known from reliable sources, or the literary tradition ascertainable, or both the facts and the tradition available? From such passages conclusions may safely be drawn as to Juvenal's originality, and these conclusions transferred and applied with reasonable safety to other parts of the poet's work of which the sources are not attainable. If there are no such passages, the task is hardly worth attempting. To some extent the author employs this method, but by analyzing three satires in the sequence of verses, he necessarily treats in succession passages of very different content with respect to available sources; in most cases he may only describe, or make plausible suggestions; the description and the suggestions would be more convincing if based on a preliminary study of those passages, doubtless few in number, in which the material for a study of sources is, comparatively speaking, rich and reliable. We are none the less grateful for a careful and sympathetic study of a few phases of the poet's art of composition, in the course of which the author offers many independent interpretations and continually suggests to the thoughtful reader opportunities for deeper investigation.

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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As we go to press we receive, too late for more than bare mention in this number, the news of the death of our colleague, Professor John H. Wright of Harvard University.—THE EDITORS.



concurant  
etque

capite uisus necesse patientia dedit  
gratias ferentes succumbere omnifido  
uictus dicit noua & speciosa genera  
interitus excogitas siquisquam interitus  
quis fugiatur? Reddendus est iunio  
nomini iunonia. debetur gloria cae-  
li? E. Imperio aeterno consue-  
uolus a pud uictoriam partem pro  
spere dimittant neque ita uicini  
dumque pellitur equis delapsa  
superbissimum generum imperis quae  
demonstrat proximam ciuiliem occu-  
pauit. Et facit ut omnis uictoriam  
conuersus in ipsius legibus. ita ad  
confirmandos animos Alacris lega-  
mentis daret. Itaque iam deinde ipse  
suauiter cogitatione proeliu nolla-  
durum uictoriae amulsi discide-  
rent. incohiberet. Geronius illaque  
flos ordinis equitum. cuius miratur  
aet fabulissimum iustitiam magi-  
ficer equitum. ille quod aduersus iam  
aetor gerobatur male commissi pro-  
la crimine leuatus est. Namque papirio

curatore propter aui priuata rependa  
murem proficiente. cassis pro-  
ficus leuissimus in aciem generum ducit  
re. nihilominus manus cum hoste  
sed iam feliae quam rem pro com-  
seruit. procul enim dubio superu-  
batur. ceterum optime indolis iunio  
demonstrat equorum frenis uehement  
eos calcaribus. simulatos in aduersos  
sacriter egit. obstantem animi p-  
sentia. generum in amulsi hostium uisio-  
nam. & caetera. spem maxime cuius  
tillam patriae restituit. Quod  
deinde robore illi milites qui ueh-  
ementia loca remorum concitiam  
fugit panicem porum firmitate  
pedes in laetis regeretur. iundome  
poris & itaque miles qui canem pro-  
lio quo habundat magister roma-  
noru concitaret quia animos friget  
cum adroenda arma in uictor uul-  
neribus manus habere & spoliare. Ita  
nantes in uide. erum complicit  
os nantibus & amulsi ceteris discipulis

clante nantes subiectas pelagus quasi ca-